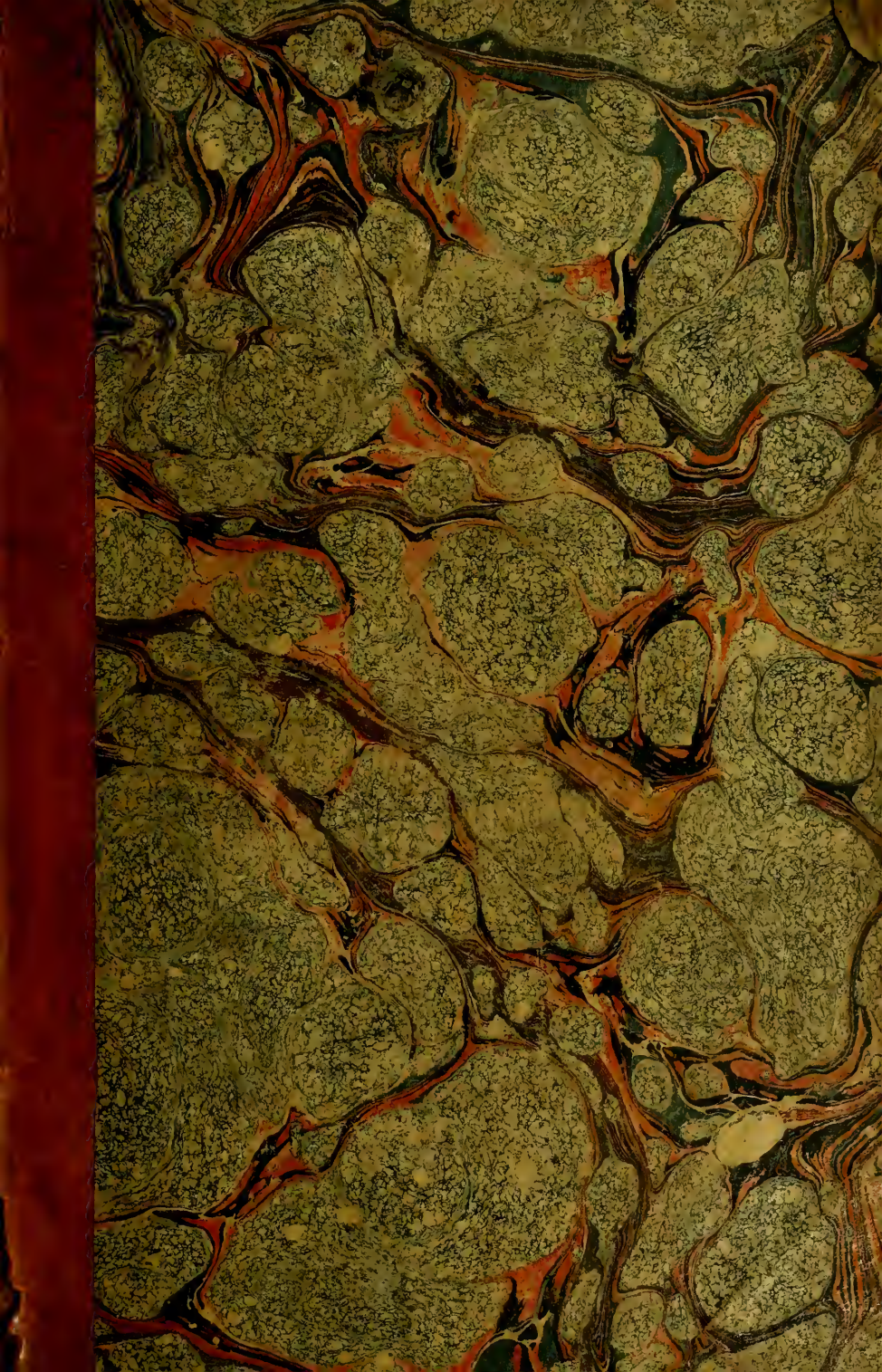

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THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY HISTORY

OF THE

WARS OF ENGLAND;

INCLUDING,

The WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

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THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND.

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF THE STUARTS CONTINUED.

AMONG other inſtances of the governing views which actuated the republican leaders at this time was an act which was paſſed, called The Self-denying Ordinance; by which it was enacted, that no member of the houſe of commons ſhould have a command in the army. The chief reaſon for paſſing this law, was to deprive the parliament of a motive to continue the war from a view of retaining their commiſſions in the army. Hereupon the former generals were changed; the Earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, and Mancheſter, gave up their commiſſions; and Fairfax, with the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, who was ſtill ſuffered to retain his ſeat, new-modelled the army without controul.

In 1645, a negociation was again ſet on foot between the king and parliament, and the commiſſioners met at Uxbridge on the 30th of January; but it was ſoon found impoſſible to come to any agreement. The demands of the parliament were exorbitant; and, what was worſe, their commiſſioners owned them to be no-

thing but preliminaries. The king was required to attaint, and except from a general pardon, forty of the moſt conſiderable of his Engliſh ſubjects, and nineteen of his Scots, together with all the Popiſh recuſants who had borne arms for him. It was inſiſted that forty-eight more, with all the members of either houſe who had ſat in the parliament called by the king at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, ſhould be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exerciſe of their profeſſion, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their eſtates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king ſhould forfeit the tenth of their eſtates, or, if that did not ſuffice, the ſixth, for the payment of public debts. As if royal authority was not ſufficiently annihilated by theſe terms, it was demanded that the court of wards ſhould be aboliſhed; that all the conſiderable officers of the crown, and all the judges, ſhould be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war ſhould not be exerciſed without conſent of parliament. A little before the commencement of this fruitleſs treaty, the parliament, to ſhew their determined reſolution to proceed in the ſame haughty imperious method in which they had begun, brought to the block Archbiſhop Laud, who had long been a priſoner in the tower, and was incapable of giving offence to any.

While the king's affairs thus went to decay in England, they ſeemed to revive a little in Scotland, through the conduct and valour of the Earl of Montroſe, a young nobleman newly returned from his travels. He had been introduced to the king; but, not meeting with an agreeable reception, had gone over to the covenanters, and been active in forwarding all their violence. Being commiſſioned, however, by the *tables*, to wait upon the king while the army lay at Berwick, he was ſo gained by the civilities and careſſes of that monarch, that

that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service. For attempting to form an association in favour of the royal cause, Montrose was quickly thrown into prison; but, being again released, he found the king ready to give ear to his counsels, which were of the boldest and most daring kind. Though the whole nation of Scotland was occupied by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration, he undertook by his own credit, and that of the few friends who remained to the king, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige those malcontents to recal the forces which had so sensibly thrown the balance in the favour of parliament. The defeat at Marston-moor had left him no hopes of any succours from England; he was therefore obliged to stipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, having used various disguises and passed through many dangers, arrived in Scotland, where he lay for some time concealed in the borders of the Highlands.

The Irish did not exceed eleven hundred foot, very ill armed. Montrose immediately put himself at their head; and, being joined by thirteen hundred Highlanders, attacked Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with six thousand men, utterly defeated him, and killed two thousand of the covenanters. He next marched northwards, in order to rouse against the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons, who had taken arms before, but been suppressed by the covenanters. At Aberdeen, he attacked and entirely defeated Lord Burley, who commanded two thousand five hundred men. Montrose, however, by this victory, did not obtain the end he proposed; the Marquis of Huntly shewed no inclination to join an army where he was so much eclipsed by the general.

Montrose was now in a very dangerous situation. Argyle, reinforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind

him

him with a great army. The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Roſs, and Caithneſs, to the number of five thouſand, oppoſed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to ſave his troops, he turned aſide unto the hills; and, after ſome marches and countermarches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-caſtle; and here, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which he was always victorious, Montroſe got clear of a ſuperior army, and by a quick march through theſe almoſt inacceſſible mountains put himſelf abſolutely beyond their power.

It was the misfortune of this general, that very good or very ill fortune were equally deſtructive of his army. After every victory, his Scots ſoldiers went home to enjoy the ſpoil they had acquired; and, had his army been compoſed of theſe only, he muſt have ſoon been abandoned altogether: but his Iriſhmen, having no place to which they could retire, adhered to him in every fortune. With theſe, therefore, and ſome reinforcements of the Atholmen and Macdonalds, Montroſe fell ſuddenly upon Argyle's country, letting looſe upon it all the horrors of war. Argyle, collecting three thouſand men, marched in queſt of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, ſuppoſing himſelf to be ſtill at a good diſtance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garriſon of Inverneſs, and a body of five thouſand new-levied troops, preſſed the royaliſts on the other ſide, and threatened them with total deſtruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montroſe haſtened to Innerlochy, and preſented himſelf in order of battle before the covenanters. Argyle alone, ſeized with a panic, deſerted his army. They made a vigorous reſiſtance, however; but were at laſt defeated and purſued with great ſlaughter: after which Montroſe was joined by great number of Highlanders; Seaforth's army diſperſed of itſelf; and the Lord Gordon, eldeſt ſon to the Marquis of Huntly, having eſcaped from

his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montroſe with a conſiderable number of his followers, attended by the Earl of Aboyne.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at theſe victories, ſent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England; and, joining him in command with Urrey, ſent them with a conſiderable army againſt the royaliſts. Montroſe, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely attached to the covenant; and, having carried it by aſſault, had given it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; when Baillie and Urrey with their whole force came upon him. He inſtantly called off his ſoldiers from plunder; put them in order; and ſecured his retreat by the moſt ſkilful meaſures; and having marched ſixty miles in the face of an enemy much ſuperior, without ſtopping, or allowing his ſoldiers the leaſt ſleep or refreſhment, at laſt ſecured himſelf in the mountains. His antagoniſts now divided their forces, in order to carry on the war againſt an enemy who ſurpriſed them as much by the rapidity of his marches as by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Urrey met him with four thouſand men, at Alderne, near Inverneſs; and, truſting to his ſuperiority in numbers (for Montroſe had only two thouſand men), attacked him in the poſt which he had choſen. Montroſe, having placed his right wing in ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed by ſhewing a few men through trees and buſhes with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his wing to the charge, made a furious attack on the covenanters, drove them off the field, and obtained a complete victory over them. Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's defeat; but he himſelf met with the like fate at Alford. Montroſe, weak in cavalry, lined his troops of horſe with infantry; and, after putting the enemy's horſe

horſe to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, which were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loſs of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royaliſts.---Having thus prevailed in ſo many battles, which his vigour always rendered as deciſive as they were ſucceſsful, he prepared for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a total period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament, which with great pomp and ſolemnity they had ordered to meet at St. Johnſtone's.

It is now time to return to the army in England.---Upon the paſſing of the Self-denying Ordinance, Cromwell was to have loſt his command, and came to Windſor to take leave of the new general, Sir Thomas Fairfax; but ſuch intereſt had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at Weſtminſter, or they were ſo ſenſible of his rare talent for war, that they had ſent orders to General Fairfax to detach a party of horſe to lie between Oxford and Worceſter, for intercepting the correſpondence between the king and Prince Rupert, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-general Cromwell for that ſervice; who went away with a good party of horſe and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's horſe under the Earl of Northampton and Goring, at Iſlip-bridge, killed ſeveral, and took five hundred horſe, and two hundred priſoners, whereof ſeveral were officers and perſons of quality, as alſo the queen's ſtandard, beſides many other trophies of honour. He purſued the routed remnant to Bletchington-houſe, where Colonel Windebank commanded; who being ſummoned by victorious Cromwell, and perſuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to viſit her, ſurrendered the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was ſhot to death at Oxford by ſentence of a council of war.

About the ſame time alſo, Cromwell forced Sir William Vaughan and Lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with three

three hundred and fifty men, into Bampton-buſh, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men, priſoners, with their arms; and ſent Colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horſe, three colonels, and forty common ſoldiers, priſoners, with their arms. Being afterwards reinforced by about five hundred foot from Colonel Brown's garriſon at Abington, Cromwell attempted the reducing of Farringdon-houſe, and ſtormed it; but it was ſo gallantly defended by Sir George Liſle, that he was forced to draw off, having loſt fifty of his men; and in his retreat he was attacked by a party of Lieutenant Goring's horſe, lately come from the ſiege of Taunton, who got from him three colours, and took Major Bethel priſoner.

It was now ordered by both houſes, that Lieutenant-general Cromwell ſhould be diſpenſed with for his perſonal attendance in the houſe, and continue his ſervice and command in the army for forty-days longer, notwithſtanding the late ordinance. This was much ſpoken againſt by Eſſex's party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a diſcovery of the intention to continue whom they pleaſed, and to remove the others from commands, notwithſtanding their former ſelf-denying pretences.

Fairfax began his march in order to relieve Taunton. But the committee of both kingdoms, underſtanding that Prince Rupert was advancing towards Oxford, ordered him to ſtop his march, and ſend only a party of about three thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe to Taunton, whilſt he with the reſt of his army marched back to join Cromwell and Brown, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king, being joined by Prince Rupert, marched into Worceſterſhire, and deſigned to relieve Cheſter, which had been a great while beſieged by the parliament's forces under Sir William Brereton; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of Cheſ-

ter, raiſed the ſiege, and returned into Lancaſhire. Upon this, the king diverted his courſe towards Leiceſter, and, coming before the place, took it by ſtorm.

In the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that General Fairfax ſhould inveſt Oxford, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near Oxford and laid ſiege to it, having his own quarters at Marſton, Cromwell at Wileham, and Brown at Wolvercott. After fifteen days ſpent without action, the parliament, being ſtartled at the loſs of Leiceſter, ſent expreſs orders to Fairfax to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

The king was marching from Leiceſter with deſign to relieve Oxford; but, hearing the ſiege was raiſed, he returned towards Northampton, cauſing great terror to the aſſociated parts. Cromwell, before the breaking up of the ſiege, had been called from thence to the Iſle of Ely, to ſupport the aſſociation, and was ſhortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: but, upon a reſolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, deſiring them to diſpenſe with Cromwell's abſence from the houſe, and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horſe. The parliament, being ſenſible of his great uſefulneſs in the field, readily complied with this requeſt, and accordingly commiſſioned him lieutenant-general of horſe to the whole army. Hereupon Cromwell, being recruited with ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, came out of the aſſociated parts, and joined with Fairfax and his main army at Gilſborough.

The king, having tarried a little at Borough-hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and deſigned to march to Pomfret, thinking, if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being ſent out with a flying party of

horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in Naſeby town, and took many priſoners, ſome of Prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade; which gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſtened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here, calling upon Prince Rupert, he ſummoned a council of war, in which it was reſolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerneſs, old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and, ſince Fairfax had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly being come near Naſeby, there they found him; and both armies, being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king the main body; the Earl of Lindſey and Jacob lord Aſtley the right-hand reſerve, and the Lord Bard and Sir George Liſle the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by Lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by Colonel Ireton, the main body by General Fairfax and Major-general Skippon, who fought ſtoutly, though ſorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by Rainſborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of Naſeby, above a mile broad; which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being diſpoſed, on June 14, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royaliſts word being, "God and Queen Mary," and the others, "God with us." Prince Rupert gave the firſt charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. Ireton made gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, his horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert,

and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chaſed the enemy almoſt to Naſeby town, and in his return ſummoned the train, and viſited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of Marſton-moor, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army: for Cromwell in the mean time charged furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body, and, proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve; after which, joining with Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily overborne by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by Prince Rupert, returned from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy: upon which the Lord Clarendon ſays, "That this difference was obſerved all along in the diſcipline of the king's troops, and of thoſe under Fairfax and Cromwell (it having never been remarkable under Eſſex or Waller, but only under them), That though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed thoſe they charged, they ſeldom rallied themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge again the ſame day; which was the reaſon that they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, preſently rallied again, and ſtood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place; ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a complete victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of Leiceſter;

ter; and the king, finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, and then to Litchfield, and ſo for a ſafer retreat into Wales.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naſeby, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke through the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. It is ſaid, that in this action, a commander of the king's, knowing Cromwell, advanced briſkly from the head of his troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in, till, their piſtols being diſcharged, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad-ſword, chanced to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now, juſt going to repeat his ſtroke, Cromwell's party came in and reſcued him; and one of them, alighting, threw up his head-piece into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and ſo fought with it during the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for, beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot were taken priſoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thouſand arms, and other rich booty; among which was alſo his majeſty's own cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which ſhewed how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom; for in one of them he declares his intention, "to make peace with the Iriſh, and to have forty thouſand of them over into England to proſecute the war here;" and in another he complains, "That he could not prevail with his mongrel parliament at Oxford to vote that the two houſes at Weſtminſter were not a lawful parliament;"

parliament;" ſo little thanks, as one obſerves who was no enemy to his majeſty, had theſe noble lords and gentlemen, for expoſing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adverſity; what then might they expect if he ſhould prevail by conqueſt? In thoſe letters alſo, he tells the queen, "That he would not make a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper ſhe ſent him: that in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not poſitively own the parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, though they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament." Theſe and many other papers relating to the public, were printed with obſervations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes, who alſo made a public declaration of them, ſhewing what the nobility and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect.

The battle of Naſeby was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period the king's affairs became deſperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and moſt ſenſibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no ſooner gained this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they ſoon overflowed the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leiceſter was immediately regained without any conſiderable oppoſition, by General Fairfax, on the 7th of June. From thence they marched to the relief of Taunton, which, being beſieged by Goring's army, had made a wonderful reſiſtance under the command of the valiant Blake. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, (July 10,) Goring drew off his army towards Langport; and, being maſter of the ſeveral paſſes on the river, hoped to have declined fighting, and ſecured his retreat towards Bridgewater: but the others drew down their ordnance with ſuch advantage, that, whilſt they did great execution on Goring's army, their

their foot resolutely gained the pass, and the horse advanced over; when they so bravely engaged the enemy, that they soon put them to flight, charging them almost to Bridgewater. Cromwell in this action shewed much prudence as well as courage; for he would not suffer part of the horse to pursue the enemy, till they were all come up together; and then, himself leading them on, performed the work with such success, that he killed three hundred, took almost all their ordnance, and made fourteen hundred prisoners.

After this victory, it was resolved, in a council of war, to storm the strong garrison of Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the assault on the 22d of July, and forced a surrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garrisons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the south coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime, and Langport; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts.

The rapine and violence practised by the royalists in the western parts, had occasioned the rising of a third kind of army, which suddenly starting up in divers counties, assembled to the number of five or six thousand of the middle-sort of men. These soon had the name of Club-men, and were encouraged by several gentlemen of the country, who entertained particular hopes from this insurrection. The motto of their colours was,

> If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
> Be assur'd we will bid you battle.

This army of club-men for some time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themselves. But having, for some months, stood upon their own defence, and molested

leſted both armies, they were at laſt very ſeaſonably ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by the parliament forces under Lieutenant-general Cromwell; who, together with Fairfax, daily gained ground in thoſe parts.

Briſtol was a place of very great importance, which Prince Rupert, with about five thouſand horſe and foot, held for the king. It was now therefore thought requiſite to beſiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general, being come before it, ſummoned Prince Rupert to deliver up the town; but, upon his refuſal, it was adviſed by Cromwell and ſome other chief officers to ſtorm part of it: which accordingly was executed with ſo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but immediately ſurrendered that great and well-fortified city to the parliament general; whereby the king loſt all his chief magazines and warlike proviſions, and conſequently in a ſhort time South-Wales and all the weſt of England. Upon this his majeſty wrote a ſharp letter to Prince Rupert, in which he ſays, "I muſt remember you of yours of the 12th of Auguſt, whereby you aſſured me, that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Briſtol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your ſubſiſtence, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my condition, ſome where beyond ſeas; to which end I herewith ſend you a paſs," &c.

The Scots, in the mean time, having made themſelves maſters of Carliſle after an obſtinate ſiege, marched ſouthwards and inveſted Hereford; but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the king's approach. And this was the laſt glimpſe of ſucceſs that attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Cheſter, which was anew beſieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones, his rear was attacked by Pointz, and an engagement immediately enſued. While the fight was

was continued with great obſtinacy, and victory ſeemed to incline to the royaliſts, Jones fell upon them from the other ſide, and defeated them with the loſs of ſix hundred killed and one thouſand taken priſoners. The king with the remains of his army fled to Newark; and from thence eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up during the winter ſeaſon.

After the ſurrender of Briſtol, Cromwell, taking with him a brigade of four regiments, marched to the ſtrong caſtle of the Devizes, whoſe natural ſtrength was much improved by the ingenuity of its governor, Sir Charles Lloyd, who, looking upon it to be almoſt impregnable, returned no other anſwer to Cromwell's firſt ſummons, but "Win it and wear it." But, as if nothing could be a ſufficient defence againſt this victorious commander, whoſe very name began now to ſtrike terror to his enemies, the governor was ſoon brought to terms, and forced to deliver up the place to him.

After this, Cromwell haſtens to Wincheſter, and in his march diſarms and diſperſes the Hampſhire clubmen thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortified; but, after a ſhort diſpute, he fired the gate, and his men entered. This done, he ſummoned the caſtle; which not ſurrendering, he planted ſix guns, and, after firing them round, ſent a ſecond ſummons for a treaty, which they alſo refuſed. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred ſhot, and then the governor, the Lord Ogle, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and Colonel Hammond and Major Harriſon for Cromwell, agreed upon articles for delivering up the caſtle into the hands of the parliament. Here an inſtance is given of Cromwell's faithfulneſs in his punctual obſervance of articles; for it is ſaid, that, being informed that ſome of his men had been faulty in this reſpect, he cauſed one of them to be hanged to the terror of others, and ſent the reſt to Oxford, that the governor Sir Thomas Glemham might puniſh them as he thought fit; who is ſaid with

generous acknowledgements to have returned them to Cromwell again.

His next attempt was upon Basing-house, a very strong place. It was the mansion of the Marquis of Winchester, a Papist, standing on a rising ground, and encompassed with a brick rampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch surrounding it. Here the marquis stood upon his guard, assisted at first only with his own family and a hundred musqueteers from Oxford; but recruited afterwards by the king from time time, as there was occasion. This garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain; first by Colonel Norton and Colonel Harvey; next, by Sir William Waller with seven thousand horse and foot; who, though many then called him William the Conqueror, did little more than increase the courage of the besieged, who made many furious sallies upon him. Thus the place stood for some years out-braving all attempts, till Cromwell endeavoured the reducing of it, which he very soon effected; for having seen the Lord Ogle, the late governor of Winchester, march out according to articles, and settled the affairs of that garrison for the parliament, he the next day marched for Basing; where being arrived, after planting the batteries, and settling the several posts for a storm, his men fell on with great resolution. Colonel Pickering stormed the new house, and passing through, got the gate of the old house; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament soldiers would not regard. In the mean time, Colonel Montagu's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments recovered the strongest work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduced with very little loss on the parliament's side. Seventy-four of the royalists were slain, among whom were some officers of quality, divers of them Papists. Two hundred were taken prisoners, among

among whom was the marquis himſelf, Sir Robert Peak, and ſeveral other officers. They took about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and there was rich pillage for the ſoldiers, of money, jewels, houſehold ſtuff, &c. For theſe important ſervices, the houſe ordered a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

The next place Cromwell viſited, was Langford-houſe, near Saliſbury; but Sir Bartholomew Pell having had information of what he had done at Baſing, and expecting no better ſucceſs, ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons.

From hence he marched towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards Exeter, with a deſign to lay ſiege to it: where being arrived, he advanced farther weſtward towards the enemy, and at Bovy-Tracy fought the brigade commanded by Lord Wentworth, taking four hundred horſe, and about a hundred foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's.

The deſign upon Exeter being for the preſent laid aſide, the army under Fairfax and Cromwell appeared before Dartmouth, and took it by ſtorm; which being done, they encountered Lord Hopton at Torrington, and gave him an abſolute defeat; and then purſued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where Prince Charles had his own regiment, and other Corniſh troops, which compoſed a body of about five thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot: but, not able to reſiſt the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he embarked with ſeveral lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the iſle of Scilly. His troops were left under the command of Lord Hopton, who was ſo preſſed upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to diſband on the 14th of March; ſoon after which Exeter was ſurrendered to the parliament. And now Lieutenant-general Cromwell came up to London from the general, to adviſe

about the future motion of the army; and, taking his place in the parliament, received the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices.

Fairfax and Cromwell having thus ſcowered the weſt, and only Newark remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and deſperate condition. The royaliſts in Oxford had indeed ſtill ſome little hopes from a party commanded by the Lord Aſtley, which were the only forces in the field for the king; but theſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed; for, being encountered by Col. Morgan near Stow-on-the-would, he was entirely defeated, himſelf and almoſt all his men being taken priſoners. Aſtley was ſo ſenſible of the conſequence of this defeat, that, when he was taken, he ſaid to one of the parliament-officers, "You have now done your work, and may go to play, unleſs you will fall out among yourſelves."

At laſt, news arrived, that Montroſe himſelf, after ſome more ſucceſſes, was defeated; and thus the only hope of the royal party was deſtroyed. When that brave general deſcended into the ſouthern counties, the covenanters, aſſembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilſyth. Here he obtained his moſt memorable victory: ſix thouſand of the covenanters were killed on the ſpot, and no remains of an army left them in Scotland. Many noblemen, who ſecretly favoured the royal cauſe, now declared openly for it when they ſaw a force able to ſupport them. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the Lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal ſtandard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the priſoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the reſt was Lord Ogilvy, ſon to Airly, whoſe family had contributed very much to the victory gained at Kilſyth.---David Leſley was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his diſtreſſed party in Scotland. Montroſe advanced

advanced ſtill further to the ſouth, allured by the vain hopes, both of rouſing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxburgh, who had promiſed to join him; and of obtaining from England ſome ſupply of cavalry, in which he was very deficient. By the negligence of his ſcouts, Leſly, at Philip-haugh in the foreſt, ſurpriſed his army, much diminiſhed in numbers from the deſertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to cuſtom, to ſecure their plunder. After a ſhort conflict, in which Montroſe exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Leſly's cavalry, and he himſelf forced to fly to the mountains.

Nothing could be more affecting than the ſituation in which the king now was. He reſolved to grant the parliament their own terms, and ſent them repeated meſſages to this purpoſe, but they never deigned to make him the leaſt reply. At laſt, after reproaching him with the blood ſpilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing ſome bills, to which, if he would conſent, they ſhould then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations. Fairfax, in the mean time, was advancing with a victorious army in order to lay ſiege to Oxford; and Charles, rather than ſubmit to be taken captive and led in triumph by his Engliſh ſubjects, reſolved to give himſelf up to the Scots, who had never teſtified ſuch implacable animoſity againſt him, and to truſt to their loyalty for the reſt. After paſſing through many bye-ways and croſs-roads, he arrived in company with only two perſons, Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, at the Scots camp before Newark, and diſcovered himſelf to Lord Leven their general.

The reception he met with was ſuch as might be expected from theſe infatuated bigots, deſtitute of every principle of reaſon, honour, or humanity. Inſtead of endeavouring to alleviate the diſtreſſes of their ſovereign, they ſuffered him to be inſulted by the clergymen. They immediately ſent an account of his arrival to the Engliſh parliament, and they as quickly entered into a treaty

treaty with the Scots about delivering up their priſoner. The Scots thought this a proper time for the recovery of their arrears due to them by the Engliſh. A great deal was really owing them, and they claimed much more than actually belonged to them. At laſt, after various debates between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and inſiſted upon many punctilios, it was agreed, that, upon payment of four hundred thouſand pounds, the Scots ſhould deliver up the king to his enemies; and this was cheerfully complied with. Thus the Scots juſtly fell under the cenſure of having ſold their king, who had thrown himſelf upon their mercy; a ſtain peculiar to the nation, and unparalleled in hiſtory either ancient or modern. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the infamy of this bargain had ſuch an influence on the Scots parliament, that they once voted that the king ſhould be protected and his liberty inſiſted on. But the general aſſembly interpoſed; and pronounced, that, as he had refuſed to take the covenant which was preſſed on him, it became not the godly to concern themſelves about his fortunes. In conſequence of this, the parliament were obliged to retract their vote. The king, being delivered over to the Engliſh commiſſioners, was conducted under a guard to Holdenby, or Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he was rigorouſly confined; his ancient ſervants being diſmiſſed, himſelf debarred from viſits, and all communication cut off with his friends or family.

The civil war being over, the king abſolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear but their own troops. From this quarter their only danger aroſe; and it was not long before they found themſelves in the ſame unfortunate ſituation to which they had reduced the king. The majority of the houſe were preſbyterians, but the majority of the army were independents. The former, ſoon after the retreat of the Scots, ſeeing every thing

reduced to obedience, propoſed to diſband a conſiderable part of the army, and ſend the reſt over to Ireland. This was by no means reliſhed, and Cromwell took care to heighten the diſaffection. Inſtead of preparing to diſband, therefore, the ſoldiers reſolved to petition; and they began by deſiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. The commons voted that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, &c. and threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it as enemies to the ſtate and diſturbers of the public peace. The army now began to ſet up for themſelves. In oppoſition to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed. The principal officers formed a council to repreſent the body of peers; the ſoldiers elected two men out of each company to repreſent the commons, and theſe were called the Agitators of the Army; and of this aſſembly Cromwell took care to be a member. The new parliament ſoon found many grievances to be redreſſed; and ſpecified ſome of the moſt conſiderable. The commons were obliged to yield to every requeſt, and the demands of the agitators roſe in proportion. The commons accuſed the army of mutiny and ſedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged that the king had been depoſed only to make way for their uſurpations. Cromwell, in the mean time, who ſecretly conducted all the meaſures of the army, while he exclaimed againſt their violence, reſolved to ſeize the king's perſon. Accordingly a party of five hundred horſe appeared at Holmby caſtle, under the command of one Joyce, originally a taylor, but now a cornet; and by this man was the king conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath near Cambridge. Next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy.

The manner in which Joyce proceeded in taking the king was the moſt brutal than can be conceived.

On

On the 4th of June, 1647, about midnight, he drew up his horſe in order before Holmby-houſe, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and Major-general Brown, who, being alarmed, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and buſineſs, he ſaid his name was Joyce, a cornet in Colonel Whalley's regiment, and his buſineſs was to ſpeak with the king. Being aſked from whom, he ſaid, "From myſelf, my errand is to the king, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him." Greaves and Brown commanded their men within to ſtand to their arms; but they, ſeeing them to be their fellow-ſoldiers of the ſame army, opened the gates, and ſhook hands with them as old friends. The cornet placed his centinels at the commiſſioners chamber doors, and went himſelf by the back-ſtairs directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms, being much ſurprized, deſired him to lay aſide his arms, and aſſured him, that in the morning he ſhould ſpeak with the king: but he with ſword and piſtol inſiſted to have the door opened, and made ſo much noiſe that it waked his majeſty, who ſent him out word, "That he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the morning;" upon which the cornet retired. The king, getting up early in the morning, ſent for him, who with great boldneſs told his majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Being aſked for a ſight of his inſtructions, he told his majeſty "he ſhould ſee them preſently;" ſo, drawing up his troops in the inner court, "Theſe, ſir," ſaid he, "are my inſtructions." The king took a good view of them; and, finding them to be proper men, well mounted and armed, told the cornet with a ſmile, "His inſtructions were in fair characters, legible without ſpelling." The king, ſeeing Lord Fairfax and Cromwell ſoon afterwards, aſked them, Whether they had commiſſioned Joyce to remove him? They affected to deny it. "I will not believe you," replied Charles, "unleſs you hang up Joyce immediately."

The

The commons now saw the designs of the army; but it was too late, all resistance was become vain: Cromwell advanced with precipitation, and was in a few days at St. Alban's. Even submission was now to no purpose; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as these demands were gratified, till at last they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

Cromwell began with accusing eleven members of the house, the very leaders of the presbyterian party, as guilty of high treason, and being enemies of the army. The commons were willing to protect them; but, the army insisting on their dismission, they voluntarily left the house. At last the citizens of London, finding the constitution totally overturned, and a military despotism beginning to take place, instead of the kingly one they were formerly afraid of, began to think seriously of repressing the insolence of the troops. The common council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned; and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city-militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote they had so lately passed. The assembly was, of consequence, divided into two parties; the greater part siding with the citizens; but the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. Accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two of the members, secretly retired from the house, and put themselves under the protection of the army, who were then at Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole force of the soldiery, to the number of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their places.

In the mean time, the part of the house which was left resolved to resist the encroachments of the army.

They chose new speakers, gave orders for enlisting troops, ordered the train-bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was at a distance; for, when Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission: the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers and the rest of the members peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the tower: several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines about the city levelled with the ground; and the command of the tower was given to Fairfax.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who remained a prisoner at Hampton-court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the presbyterians, in name of both houses, on the other; treated with him separately in private. He had sometimes even hopes, that, in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom at last, being sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would of its own accord be hushed into its former tranquil condition. At this time he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants; his chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved, and was heard to declare, that he never beheld such an affecting scene before. But these instances of respect were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the king was treated not only

with the greateſt diſreſpect, but even kept in continual alarms for his own perſonal ſafety. The conſequence of this was, that Charles at laſt reſolved to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 11th of November 1647, attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-court; and his eſcape was not diſcovered till near an hour after; when thoſe who entered his chamber found on the table ſome letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. All night he travelled through the foreſt, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a ſeat of the Earl of Southampton, where reſided the counteſs dowager, a woman of honour, to whom the king knew he might ſafely entruſt his perſon. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the ſea-coaſt: and expreſſed great anxiety that a ſhip which he ſeemed to look for had not arrived. He could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: the queſtion was, what meaſure ſhould next be embraced? In the neighbourhood lay the Iſle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwell, which was a very unfavourable circumſtance: yet, becauſe the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond the king's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good reputation in the army, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him in the preſent exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched to the iſland. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king lay concealed, till they had firſt obtained a promiſe of him not to deliver up his majeſty, even though the parliament and army ſhould require him; but reſtore him to his liberty, if he could not protect him. The promiſe would have been but a ſlender ſecurity: yet even without exacting it, Aſhburnham imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Tichfield: and the king was obliged to put himſelf into

his hands, and to attend him to Carisbroke-castle in the Isle of Wight, where, though he was received with great demonstrations of respect and kindness, he was in reality a prisoner.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, Cromwell found himself upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes, by having his own principles turned against himself. Among the Independents, who in general were for no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called Levellers, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Jesus Christ. Though this would have gone down very well with Cromwell as long as it was only directed against his enemies, he did not so well relish it when applied to himself. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before them at the head of his red regiment, which had hitherto been deemed invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant? he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitant schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. Instead of obeying, however, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot, and sent others to London; and thus dissipated a faction no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

Tumults and insurrections still increasing, and all things seeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary to preserve a good understanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the house of lords, to assure them of the army's submission, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houses, and by their order. Being likewise afraid of the city, he

he propoſed in the houſe of commons to unite the intereſts of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he ſaid) invincible, by making them inſeparable. So a treaty was ſet on foot, in which indeed the army was not mentioned, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon ſome diſturbances there ſhould be withdrawn; but the treaty only mentioned the two houſes, and the city: and this conjunction was ſufficient for Cromwell at preſent; for he thereby prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royaliſts; and beſides, the power which the army had in the houſe, was at this time ſufficient to ſecure the city to them.

The firſt that actually took up arms, were the Welſh; and this they did under the conduct of Major-general Laughorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powel, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's ſide: but, being now to be diſbanded by order of the council of war, they refuſed to obey; and, the better to ſecure themſelves, declared for the king, and acted by commiſſion and powers from the Prince of Wales. Major-general Straddling, and other royaliſts, joining with Laughorn, he ſoon had the appearance of a conſiderable army, which very ſhortly enabled him to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and caſtles of Pembroke and Tenby; at which time Chepſtow-caſtle was likewiſe ſurprized by Sir Nicholas Kemiſh. The preparations in Kent for a war were not leſs formidable; for great numbers in that county rendezvouſing near Rocheſter, they choſe Goring earl of Norwich, who was then with them, for their general; and they ſoon received a conſiderable addition to their ſtrength, by great numbers of apprentices and reformed officers and ſoldiers daily flocking from London to their quarters; which ſo frightened the two houſes, that they preſently reſtored to the city their militia; and, Skippon being re-admitted

to

to the command of the forces, they interrupted the communication with Kent, by placing guards upon the paſſages of the river. The increaſe of the Kentiſh forces ſo animated the ſeamen, that, in the latter end of May, 1649, the ſailors of a ſquadron lying in the Downs revolted againſt their commander Rainſborough; whom they ſet aſhore, together with ſome other officers diſaffected to the royal cauſe. Being ſupplied with proviſions by the king's friends in Kent, they ſteered their ſquadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the Duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The Prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he reſided with his mother, was no ſooner informed of this incident, than he repaired to Helvoetſluys, and, going on-board the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He ſent his brother to the Hague, and ſet ſail for England, in order to join and head the Scottiſh army, when it ſhould enter that kingdom. Arriving at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refuſed him admittance, whereupon he directed his courſe to the river Thames, and took ſeveral rich veſſels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards reſtored. Meanwhile the Earl of Warwick aſſembled a ſquadron, with which he ſailed in queſt of the prince, and anchored his ſhips ſo near him in the river, that an engagement was thought inevitable. The Prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed in order to attack the earl; but the wind falling, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his reſolution. Warwick was reinforced with ſome freſh ſhips, and, the royal fleet being in want of proviſions, young Charles was perſuaded to return to Helvoetſluys, whither the parliament fleet followed him.

The Earl of Warwick, on his arrival off the coaſt of Holland, ſent to the States, inſiſting that they ſhould oblige the ſhips which had revolted from the parliament of England, and taken refuge in their ports, to put

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to sea. This demand embarrassed the States, as they were not willing to break with the parliament, neither did they choose to expose the revolted fleet to the resentment of their pursuers: they, at length, determined not to comply with the English admiral's demand, and ordered all their naval force to sea to prevent an engagement between the two squadrons. Warwick, finding that his menaces were not effectual, quitted the Dutch coast, and returned home.

The command of this small squadron, now reduced to fourteen ships, badly manned and equipped, was given to Prince Rupert, with which he carried on a pyratical war, and, after some time successfully cruising in the channel, he retired into the port of Kinsale.

But the fiercest storm was threatened from the preparations making in the north, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale and others of the king's party having surprized the strong town of Berwick, and Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Thomas Glemham that of Carlisle, had raised a considerable body to join with the Scots, who were now about to enter England with a powerful army. Besides this, the Earl of Holland, with the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Francis his brother, the Earl of Peterborough, and some other persons of quality, having formed a party of about five hundred horse with some foot, for his majesty's service, appeared with them near Kingston, and declared against the parliament. Several castles were seized and declared for the king; and among the rest Pomfret was artfully surprized by Major Morrice: and there was scarcely a county in England, where there was not some association forming to appear in arms for the king.

These vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to those at Westminster; who hereupon appointed a committee of safety for the commonwealth, which daily sat at Derby-house, and consisted of twenty persons, viz. seven lords, and thirteen of the house of commons, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell

well was one. This committee had power given them to ſuppreſs all tumults and inſurrections, and for that end to raiſe forces as they ſaw occaſion. And then, for the more ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the ſeveral inſurrections, the army was divided, and ſmall parties ſent to thoſe places where the royaliſts were weakeſt. Fairfax, Lambert, and Cromwell, commanded the reſt, every one marching a ſeveral way; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert into the north, and Cromwell into Wales, who was afterwards to march into the north and join Lambert.

The Earl of Holland and Duke of Buckingham were ſoon defeated by a party of horſe and foot that was ſent after them, under the command of Sir Michael Liveſey. The earl was taken priſoner; the duke, after loſing his brother, the Lord Francis, narrowly eſcaped, and went over to France. The Earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by parliament, fell down the river towards Prince Charles, who with the revolted ſhips had blocked up the mouth of the Thames, where he lay ſome time in expectation, preſuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: but perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was miſtaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the ſail he could for the coaſt of Holland. The caſtles of Deal and Sandwich were reduced by Colonel Rich; and many of the revolted ſhips returned to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time General Fairfax routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, and drove the Lord Goring with his men into Eſſex; where, though joined by the Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and others, Fairfax forced them to ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter, where he beſieged them, and lay before the place a long time; but, having compelled them at laſt to ſurrender upon ſuch conditions as he would allow them, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle were ſhot to death by ſentence of the council of war,

war, and the Lords Goring and Capel were ſent priſoners to Windſor-caſtle.

Cromwell's buſineſs, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in Wales. In order to effect this, he ſent Colonel Horton thither before him, with about three thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, he himſelf following with as many forces as could be ſpared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that Laughorn, with an army of near eight thouſand men, had engaged him at St. Fagon's in Glamorganſhire; that upon the firſt charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards, reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royaliſts, where the beſt of Laughorn's men were, with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they obliged them to give way; which thoſe in the rear, being moſtly new-raiſed men, perceiving, they began to ſhift for themſelves: upon which Horton's men proſecuted their advantage with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the whole body of their enemies was ſoon routed, fifteen hundred ſlain, and near three thouſand taken priſoners.

Upon this Cromwell haſtens to join him; and in his march comes before Chepſtow, where they drew out ſome forces againſt him: but Colonel Pride's men fell on ſo furiouſly that they gained the town, and beat the ſoldiers into the caſtle; which being ſtrongly fortified, and well provided, Cromwell ſent to Briſtol for ſome great guns, and, haſtening into Pembrokeſhire, left Colonel Ewer to proſecute the ſiege; who, having made a breach on the 25th of May, reſolutely attacked and carried the caſtle ſword in hand; Sir Nicholas Kemiſh, who commanded there, being ſlain, and an hundred and twenty taken priſoners.

Cromwell, being arrived in Pembrokeſhire, firſt ordered the ſtorming of Tenby with Colonel Overton's regiment, and part of Sir W. Conſtable's, commanded

by Lieutenant-colonel Read; and ſo, after ſeveral furious aſſaults, the town firſt, and then the caſtle, ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Laughorn and Powel, after their defeat by Colonel Horton, eſcaped to Pembroke, which Poyer kept for them. Here they thought themſelves ſafe, when Cromwell, appearing, beſieged them himſelf in perſon in that place: but that dreadful name did not ſo diſcourage them, but that being fully perſuaded that the ſtopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had ſo much work on their hands elſewhere, they reſolved to ſtand out, and defended themſelves long enough to have wearied out almoſt any other man, as little uſed to be baffled as Cromwell. On the contrary, the rumour of the Scotch invaſion, daily increaſing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his ſkill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. The garriſon within was ſtrong and reſolute, and the place well fortified, which however he was reſolved to attempt by ſtorm; and, falling on with ſingular courage, met with gallant reſiſtance: after which, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not ſo well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induced to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the ſmall quantity of proviſions they had in the town and caſtle; and then, diviſions began to ariſe amongſt them, which at length grew to that height, that the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny againſt their commanders; crying out, "We ſhall be ſtarved for two or three men's pleaſures, better it were that we ſhould throw them over the walls." Accordingly, Cromwell ordered ſtrict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out; which order being well obſerved, they were compelled at length to deſire a parley, and on the 11th of July ſurrendered the town and caſtle to him upon articles. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, and ſome other officers, ſurrendered

ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion. Sir Charles Kemiſh, Sir Henry Stradling, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within ſix weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the reſt to have the liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plundered. The ſick and wounded were to be taken care of; the towns-men not to be plundered, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and, together with the town and caſtle, the arms, ammunition, and proviſions, were to be delivered up to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the uſe of the parliament. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, were afterwards condemned by ſentence of a court-martial; but, having the favour to draw lots which of them ſhould die, the other two to be ſpared, the lot fell upon Col. Poyer, who was accordingly ſhot to death in Covent-garden.

Cromwell's authority was greatly increaſed by thus ſuppreſſing the inſurrections in Wales; but it became irreſiſtible in conſequence of a new and unexpected addition to his ſucceſſes. The Scots, perhaps aſhamed of the reproach of having ſold their king, and ſtimulated farther by the independents, who took all occaſions to mortify them, raiſed an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the Earl of Hamilton: while Langdale, who profeſſed himſelf at the head of the more bigotted party who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his ſeparate body, and both invaded the north of England.

The houſe of commons, receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declared them to be enemies, and ordered Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, Cromwell marched towards the north with all his power; and ſent to Major-general Lambert, deſiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and joined him. Lambert therefore ſkilfully endeavoured, rather to harraſs the Scotch army than to fight it; and choſe rather

to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminished, and often separated to their great disadvantage; all which was owing either to dark designs in the army, divisions, or weak management.

Whilst Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treason was framed against him by Major Huntingdon, with the advice of some members of both houses; he was accused of endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. But it being manifest, that the preferring such an accusation at that time was chiefly designed to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more easily prevail against them; the parliament thought it most advisable to discountenance any thing of that nature.

To proceed: Cromwell having joined Lambert, both armies met on the 17th of August, near Preston in Lancashire. The English in the Scotch army had the honour of the van, and for a time engaged Cromwell's men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously pressed upon by them, that they were forced to retreat to a pass, which they endeavoured to maintain, whilst they sent to the duke for succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; though Langdale afterwards declared, "That if one thousand foot had been sent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day;" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, "That he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did." The Scots perceiving the disorder their English friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursued by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several prin-

cipal officers of their foot were likewiſe taken, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Many of their horſe fled towards Lancaſter, and were purſued near ten miles with great execution. Hamilton marched away in the night, with about eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and Cromwell followed him with about three thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe and dragoons, killing and taking ſeveral in the way; but, by the time the reſt of his army was come up, Hamilton recovered Wigan, before they could attempt any thing againſt him. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had ſome ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, who the next morning marched towards Warrington, and made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was diſputed with great reſolution on both ſides: but at length Cromwell beat them from their ſtanding, killed about one thouſand of them, and took about two thouſand priſoners. He purſued them home to Warrington town, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the bridge; but, Cromwell coming thither, Lieutenant-general Bayley deſired to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, "That he ſhould ſurrender himſelf and all his officers and ſoldiers priſoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c." which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thouſand complete arms and as many priſoners, and Hamilton's infantry was totally ruined; who with his remaining horſe marched towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and killed ſeveral; and Cromwell ſent poſt to Lord Grey, Sir H. Cholmley, and Sir Ed. Roade, to gather all together with ſpeed for the purſuit of the enemy. And ſo Hamilton, being preſſed upon by the country, fled at laſt to Uttoxeter in Staffordſhire; where, with about three thouſand horſe which he had with him, he was taken, and ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occaſioned ſo much terror, was routed and defeated;

defeated; and what is moſt remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Cromwell with an army amounting to ſcarcely above a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodneſs of his troops, making amends for the ſmallneſs of the number, which was not diminiſhed half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the Engliſh under Langdale had been beaten. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only ſome of their horſe, which had been quartered moſt backward, made haſte to carry news to their country of the ill ſucceſs of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the moſt part, taken by the activity of the country or the horſe that purſued them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with ſome of his men, who continued with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, was diſcovered; and, being taken priſoner, was conveyed to the caſtle of Nottingham, from whence he had afterwards the good fortune to eſcape.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell, having thus defeated the Scots under Duke Hamilton, reſolved to proſecute the advantage, by marching with all poſſible ſpeed againſt Monro, who was come into England, as a reſerve, with above ſix thouſand horſe and foot, and had marched almoſt to the borders of Lancaſhire: but having notice given him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking that he ſhould be able to ſtand before him, who had juſt before defeated an army ſo much exceeding his own, he made what haſte he could back into Scotland.

Cromwell now reſolved to proſecute his victory to the utmoſt, by entering into Scotland itſelf, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatened any further diſturbance. It was generally believed, that the Marquis of Argyle earneſtly invited him to this progreſs; for, notwithſtanding Hamilton's defeat, his

his brother the Earl of Lanrick ſtill bore the ſway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which Monro had raiſed for the recruit of the duke's army were ſtill together, which the few forces raiſed by Argyle were not able to oppoſe. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, it is certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Cromwell with his victorious army continuing his march to Scotland, in his way reduced Carliſle and Berwick to their former obedience, both being delivered up to him on compoſition. Being juſt ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them ſhould force from the Scotch people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they ſhould behave themſelves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any.

Cromwell marched directly for Edinburgh, and in his way was met by many of the Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of eſtates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy atchievements; acknowledging that his preſence would conduce much to the compoſing of the diſtractions of the kingdom.

He had not been long at Edinburgh before he demanded of the committee of eſtates, that they would ſeclude from all public truſt, all who had any hand in, or did in the leaſt promote, Duke Hamilton's late invaſion: to which the committee gave a ſatisfactory anſwer. Several other demands were likewiſe made by him, with which the committee complied; and he reſerved liberty for the parliament of England to make ſuch further demands as they ſhould think requiſite. Whilſt he ſtaid with them, the committee ſent an order and command to Monro to diſband his troops; which when he ſeemed reſolved not to do, he

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ſoon perceived that Cromwell muſt be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obeyed the orders of the committee.

Cromwell, having thus finiſhed what he came about, began to prepare for his return to England; but, before he left them, the committee fearing ſome new diſturbance might ariſe after the departure of the Engliſh army, requeſted that he would leave ſome forces with them, which might be ready to ſuppreſs any inſurections; promiſing, that when they had raiſed a ſufficient force for their own defence, they would diſmiſs them, and ſend them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed Major-general Lambert, with three regiments of horſe, for the ſaid ſervice.

On the 16th of October, Cromwell left Edinburgh, being conducted ſeveral miles on his way by the Marquis of Argyle and many others of the Scotch nobility; and at their parting great demonſtrations of affection paſſed between them. Cromwell, arriving at Newcaſtle with his army, was nobly treated there, and welcomed with great guns, ringing of bells, and other rejoicings. From hence he bent his courſe directly to Carliſle, having firſt ordered ſome forces for ſtrengthening the ſiege of Pontefract or Pomfret-caſtle. This place, though not very large, was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, but moſt remarkable for the valour of thoſe who defended it, whereby it became famous all over the kingdom. The garriſon conſiſted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horſe, all bold and reſolute men, as appeared by their actions. One time a party of horſe, iſſuing out of the caſtle, took Sir Arthur Ingram, and, carrying him in, obliged him to pay one thouſand five hundred pounds for his ranſom, before he could get out again. At another time, Capt. Clayton and moſt of his troop were ſeized upon by them, and made priſoners. They likewiſe fetched two hundred head of cattle, with many horſes, into

into the caſtle, whilſt Sir Henry Cholmeley lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldeſt action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one): one morning before day, there ſallied out about forty horſe, who haſtened away to Doncaſter, where Colonel Rainſborough, who had a commiſſion to command in chief before the caſtle, then quartered. Being come near the town, three of the party, leaving their companions without, with great confidence marched in, and enquired for Colonel Rainſborough's quarters; which being informed of, they entered, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from Lieutenant-general Cromwell. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their priſoner; but, upon his refuſal to go ſilently with them, they run him through with their ſwords, ſo that he immediately expired. And, although his forces then kept guard in the town, theſe bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the caſtle in the middle of the day.

To repreſs theſe inſolent proceedings, Cromwell, immediately after he had ſettled the reſt of the northern parts in peace and quietneſs, came to the leaguer himſelf; and having ordered the ſeveral poſts for a cloſe ſiege, which put a ſtop to their thus ranging abroad, he left Major-general Lambert, who was juſt come out of Scotland, with a ſtrong party before it, to complete the work, whilſt himſelf took his march directly for London, where he began to think his preſence very neceſſary for the completion of his deſigns.

The king, who was kept a priſoner at Cariſbroke-caſtle, continued to negotiate with the parliament for ſettling the calamities of the kingdom. The parliament now ſaw no other method of deſtroying the military power, but to depreſs it by the kingly. Frequent propoſals for an accommodation paſſed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obſtacle which had all along ſtood in the way, ſtill kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refuſing to abo-

liſh epiſcopacy, though he conſented to alter the liturgy. However, the treaty was ſtill carried on with vigour, and the parliament for the firſt time ſeemed in earneſt to conclude their negociations. But all was now too late. The victorious army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced to Windſor, and with furious remonſtrances began to demand vengeance on the king. The unhappy monarch had been lately ſent under confinement to that place; and from thence he was now conveyed to Hurſt-caſtle in Hampſhire, oppoſite to the Iſle of Wight. The parliament in the mean time began to iſſue ordinances for a more effectual oppoſition to theſe military encroachments, when they were aſtoniſhed by a meſſage from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a viſit next day with his whole army; and in the mean time ordering them to raiſe him forty thouſand pounds on the city of London.

The commons, though deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, had ſtill the courage to reſiſt, and to attempt in the face of the whole army to finiſh the treaty they had begun with the king. They had taken into conſideration the whole of his conceſſions; and, though they had formerly voted them unſatisfactory, they now renewed the conſultation with great vigour. After a violent debate which laſted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of 129 againſt 83, that his conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon in ſettling the affairs of the nation. This was the laſt attempt in his favour; for the next day Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the houſe; and, ſeizing in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, ſent them to a low room belonging to the houſe, that paſſed by the denomination of Hell. Above one hundred and ſixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious and determined independents, in all not exceeding ſixty. This atrocious invaſion of parliamentary rights commonly paſſed by the name of Pride's

Pride's Purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, to complete the wickedness of this parliament, but to murder the king. In this assembly, therefore, composed of the most obscure citizens, and officers of the army, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved, that an high court of justice should be appointed, to try his majesty for this new-invented treason. For form's sake, they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the upper house; but there was virtue enough left in that body unanimously to reject the proposal. The commons, however, were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary, and that the people were the origin of all just power. To add to their zeal, a woman of Herefordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation she pretended to have received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had permitted his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune

and decay. He had long been attended by an old decrepid ſervant whoſe name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his maſter's fate without being able to revenge his cauſe. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were now withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. He could not, however, be perſuaded that his adverſaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſination.

From the 6th to the 20th of January was ſpent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of juſtice conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-three perſons named by the commons; but of theſe never above ſeventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly compoſed of the principal officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, together with ſome of the lower houſe, and a few citizens of London. Bradſhaw a lawyer was choſen preſident; Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England; Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall. When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, he ſtill maintained the dignity of a king. His charge was then read by the ſolicitor, accuſing him of having been the cauſe of all the bloodſhed which followed ſince the commencement of the war; after which Bradſhaw directed his diſcourſe to him, and told him that the court expected his anſwer.

The king began his defence with declining the authority of the court. He repreſented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he expected a different treatment from what he had now received. He perceived, he ſaid, no appearance of an upper-houſe, which was neceſſary to conſtitute a juſt tribunal. He alleged that he was himſelf the king and

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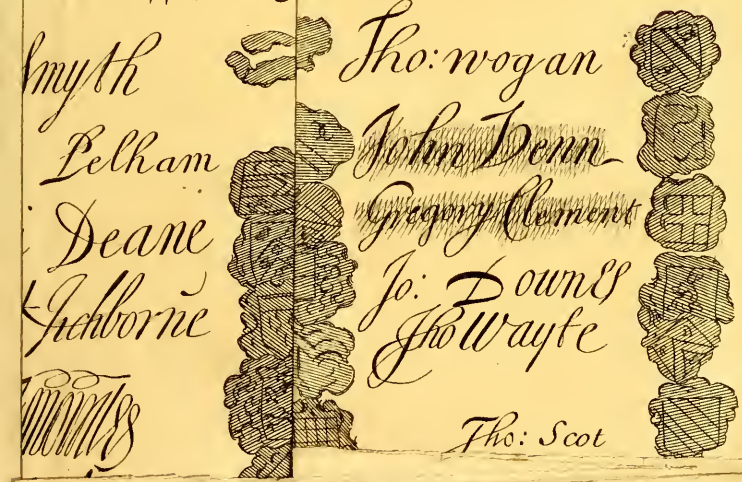
and standeth the Treason
[illegible] was
[illegible] to death by the
execution yet vile and
open Streets Betweth -- day of
of Town in the same
ye sufficient pr and Souldiers
to be assisting Hands and



Smyth
Pelham
Deane
Jechborne

Tho: wogan
John Denn
Gregory Clement
Jo: Downes
Tho Wayte

Tho: Scot

and decay. He had long been attended by an old decrepid ſervant whoſe name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his maſter's fate without being able to revenge his cauſe. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were now withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. He could not, however, be perſuaded that his adverſaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſination.

From the 6th to the 20th of January was ſpent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of juſtice conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-three perſons named by the commons; but of theſe never above ſeventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly compoſed of the principal officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, together with ſome of the lower houſe, and a few citizens of London. Bradſhaw a lawyer was choſen preſident; Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England; Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall. When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, he ſtill maintained the dignity of a king. His charge was then read by the ſolicitor, accuſing him of having been the cauſe of all the bloodſhed which followed ſince the commencement of the war; after which Bradſhaw directed his diſcourſe to him, and told him that the court expected his anſwer.

The king began his defence with declining the authority of the court. He repreſented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he expected a different treatment from what he had now received. He perceived, he ſaid, no appearance of an upper-houſe, which was neceſſary to conſtitute a juſt tribunal. He alleged that he was himſelf the king and

To the high Cort of Justice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Stewart Kinge of Englande January [illegible]th Anno Dm 1648./

Whereas Charles Stewart Kinge of Englande is and standeth convicted attainted and condemned of high Treason and other high Crymes And sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Cort to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wch sentence execution yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open Streete before Whitehall upon this morninge being the Thirtieth day of this instant monthe of January betweene the howres of Tenn in the morninge and fyve in the afternoone of the same day with full effect And for soe doinge this shall be yor sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of Englande to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under o hands and Seales

Jo: Bradshawe
Tho: Grey
O Cromwell
Edw: Whalley

Dr Cotterell Thomas Pride Colonell Hewett and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and diverse of them

Har: Waller
John Blakiston
Hutchinson
Willi Goffe
Thomas Pelham
De Temple
Harrison
Hewson

Lincsey
John Cey
Dawes
Jo. Bourchier
Hy Greton
The Mauleverer

Hen Smyth
Per. Pelham
Ri Deane
Robert Tichborne
Daniel: Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Willm Grenvoy
Fr: Scrope
James Temple

Harland
Dom: Ffetcher
Henry Marten
Vincent Potter
Wm: Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Will: Cawley
Jo Barkstead

Symon Mayne
Tho: Horton
Jones
John Berne
Gilbt Millington
C Wheelwood
T Allured
Robt Wallwyn
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Ge Norton
Tho. Challoner

Tho: Wogan
John Venn
Gregory Clement
Jo: Downes
Tho Wayte

Tho: Scot
Jo: Carew
Miles Corbet

Isaac Ewer
John Dixwell
Valentine Wauton

fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that, having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them by recognizing a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing, before a proper tribunal, to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution. Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted, that they had received their authority from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the king not to decline the authority of the court that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and over-ruled him in his attempts to reply. In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created tribunal, he desired, before sentence was passed upon him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber; with design, as it is thought, to have resigned his crown to his son, the Prince of Wales: upon which the judges retired for half an hour to consider of his request; and then returning they ordered the king to be brought again to the bar; when the president told him, that what he had proposed was but a further denial of the jurisdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of justice; and, if he had no more to say, they would proceed to judgment. And the king answering, he had no more to say, Bradshaw made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, "That the people have the supreme power, and the house of commons is the people." This speech being ended, and the charge again recited, sentence was pronounced in these words: "For all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant,

tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, ſhall be put to death, by the ſevering his head from his body."

At his return to Whitehall, Charles deſired permiſſion of the houſe to ſee his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxton late biſhop of London. Theſe requeſts were granted, and alſo three days to prepare for execution. Every night between his ſentence and execution, the king ſlept ſound as uſual, though the noiſe of the workmen employed in framing the ſcaffold continually reſounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at laſt arrived, he roſe early; and, calling one of his attendants, bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great a ſolemnity. The ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for his execution; for it was intended that this ſhould increaſe the ſeverity of his puniſhment. He was led through the banqueting-houſe to the ſcaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and ſervant Biſhop Juxon, a man of the ſame mild and ſteady virtues with his maſter. The ſcaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of ſoldiers under the command of Colonel Tomlinſon; and on it were to be ſeen the block, the axe, and two executioners in maſks. The people, in crowds, ſtood at a greater diſtance. The king ſurveyed all theſe ſolemn preparations with calm compoſure; and, as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a diſtance, he addreſſed himſelf to the few perſons who ſtood round him. He there juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars: he obſerved, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had ſhewn him the example; and that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preſerve that authority entire which had been tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors. But, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker: he owned that he was juſtly puniſhed for having conſented to the execution of an unjuſt ſentence againſt the Earl of Straf-

ford.

ford. He forgave all his enemies; exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his ſon as his ſucceſſor; and ſignified his attachment to the Proteſtant religion as profeſſed by the church of England. So ſtrong was the impreſſion made by his dying words on thoſe who could hear him, that Col. Tomlinſon himſelf, to whoſe care he had been committed, acknowledged himſelf a convert. At one blow his head was ſevered from his body. The other executioner then, holding up the head, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Charles was executed on the 30th of January 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling ſtature, robuſt, and well-proportioned. His viſage was pleaſant, but melancholy; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impreſſion on his countenance. He was buried at Windſor.

Captain Hewlet was condemned, after the reſtoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at leaſt for being one of the perſons who ſtood maſked upon the ſcaffold, though ſeveral creditable witneſſes depoſed, that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman, had confeſſed and owned that he executed the king, and that he affirmed as much to the Lord Capel, when he ſuffered by the ſame axe; and Captain Hewlet offered to make it appear, that he was not then upon the ſcaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was ſeized and ſecured for refuſing to be there. Notwithſtanding this, Hewlet was found guilty by the jury; but was reprieved: and, if we may believe what Lilly writes in his own life, it was the reſolute Joyce (who ſeized the king at Holmby) that ſtruck the fatal ſtroke. The account that Lilly gives, is as follows: "The next Sunday but one after Charles the Firſt was beheaded, Robert Spavin, ſecretary to the Lieutenant-general Cromwell, invited himſelf to dine with me, and brought

Anthony

Anthony Pierſon and ſeveral others along with him to dinner. Their principal diſcourſe was, who it was that beheaded the king: one ſaid it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others were alſo nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as ſoon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carrying me to the ſouth window ſaid, Theſe are all miſtaken, they have not named the man that did the fact; it was Lieutenant-colonel Joyce: I was in the room when he fitted himſelf for the work, ſtood behind him when he did it, and, when done, went in again with him. There is no man knows this but my maſter Cromwell, Commiſſary Ireton, and myſelf."

The king, in all his ſufferings, ſhewed a calm and compoſed firmneſs, which amazed all people; and the rather, becauſe it was not natural to him. He had many indignities offered him, eſpecially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatneſs of mind, without diſorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, he died greater than he had lived, and ſhewed, that which has often been remarked of the whole family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, and an utter enemy to all kinds of debauchery; and, if he had any perſonal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he ſplit, was an immoderate deſire of power, beyond what the conſtitution allowed. His reign, both in peace and war, was a continual ſeries of errors: he was out of meaſure bent on following his humour; but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His friends regretted the aſcendant ſhe had over him on many occaſions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious huſband. He had certainly a fixed averſion to popery; but was much inclined to a middle way between the Proteſtants

teſtants and Papiſts; whereby he loſt the one without gaining the other. In ſhort, his whole conduct was ſuch, as verified this maxim, "That errors in government have ruined more princes than perſonal vices."

During this reign, the French had paid great attention to their marine, and viewed with a jealous eye the progreſs which the Engliſh made in maritime ſtrength. The jealouſy of the Dutch was alſo excited againſt England from the dominion which it claimed over the narrow ſeas, the excluſive right of fiſhing in particular latitudes, and the reſpect required to be paid to its flag. The Dutch were very averſe to acknowledge theſe claims on the part of England; and the learned Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatiſe, under the title of Mare Liberum, wherein he diſcovered great abilities in ſhewing the weakneſs of our title to dominion over the ſea, which he aſſerted was a gift from God common to all nations. This treatiſe was anſwered by Mr. Selden, in a book which he intitled Mare Clauſum; wherein he demonſtrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the ſea may be acquired; he likewiſe proved, from the moſt authentic hiſtorians, that ſuch dominion had been claimed and enjoyed by ſeveral nations, and ſubmitted to by others, for their common benefit: that this, in fact, was the caſe of the inhabitants of this iſland, who at all times, and in every form of government, had claimed, exerciſed, and conſtantly enjoyed, ſuch a dominion, which had been confeſſed by their neighbours, frequently, and in the moſt ſolemn manner. This work maintained, with great depth of learning, force of argument, and ſtrength of judgment, that the inhabitants of this iſland of Great Britain poſſeſs an hereditary, uninterrupted, right to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, conveyed to them by their earlieſt anceſtors, in truſt for their lateſt poſterity. This famous book was publiſhed in 1634, and met with the warm patronage of King Charles.

The silk manufactures of London were also, by this time, become so considerable, that in 1629, they were incorporated by Charles I. under the name of Master, Warden, Assistants, and Commonalty, of Silk Throwers of the city of London, and within four miles of it. The suburbs being now encreased to an amazing extent, and vast numbers of regular tradesmen being of necessity obliged to exercise their avocations there, without the advantage of being ranked as citizens and members of the corporation of London, the king, in 1636, "incorporated all the tradesmen and artificers inhabiting such places of the city of London as are exempted from the freedom thereof; as also, those of the out-parts of Westminster and Middlesex, within three miles of the said city of London, excluding for the future all such persons as shall not have served seven years to their respective occupations, as well as all foreigners, from exercising their respective trades, in order to save those places from being pestered with inmates, and to prevent the prejudice done to such as were freemen of London." These suburbs were, therefore, added to the jurisdiction of the lord mayor.

The colony of Maryland was planted in 1632, a country hitherto accounted part of Virginia. King Charles made a grant of it to Cœcilius Calvert, afterwards created Lord Baltimore, and whose father had been secretary of state to King James. The king himself named it Maryland, in honour of his queen Henrietta-Maria. "Charles the First," says the Abbé Raynal, "from having an aversion for the catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Queen Elizabeth and King James I. These circumstances

ſtances induced Lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. But as he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time, but it was reſumed from the ſame religious motives by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with chearfulneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help, theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour. The view of the peace and happineſs which they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions. The catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims, after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects of what religious principles ſoever. Baltimore likewiſe granted the moſt extenſive civil liberty to every ſtranger who choſe to purchaſe lands in this new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country."

Some Engliſh families about the ſame time ventured to ſettle on the iſland of Antigua (or Antego) in the

neighbourhood of St. Chriſtopher's, although it was for ſome time reckoned uninhabitable, becauſe it had no freſh-water brooks, or ſcarcely any other but rain water preſerved in ponds or ciſterns. And for that reaſon it was ſoon after deſerted by them, and remained uninhabited till after the reſtoration.

About the year 1639, a new Eaſt-India company was ſet on foot in England, to which King Charles granted a licence to trade in all parts of India, where the old company had not ſettled any factories, for the term of five years.

The ſtate of the public navy, in the ſummer of 1645, appears from an authentic liſt publiſhed by order of parliament to have been as follows:

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
1 Ship (Vice-admiral Blyth) of	875	280	50
1 Ditto of - -	600	170	40
1 Ditto (Rear-admiral Owen) of	575	170	40
1 Ditto of - -	557	170	38
1 Ditto of - -	520	170	38
1 Ditto of - -	559	160	38
1 Ditto (Vice-admiral Batten) of	650	260	36
1 Ditto of - -	512	160	36
1 Ditto of - -	500	150	36
	5348	1690	262

The reſt conſiſted of ſeventeen ſmaller ſhips, from four hundred tons, one hundred and ten men, and twenty-eight guns; down to eighty tons, forty-five men, and eight guns. So that there was only one ſhip which might now, in our times, be admitted into a line of battle. The Royal Sovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps ſeveral other large ſhips of war, were either ſtill under the king's command, or elſe were not then thought neceſſary to be put into commiſſion. There were alſo ſix pinks and frigates, of each fifty tons burden, and eighteen merchant ſhips, from four hundred and five tons, one hundred and twenty-

twenty-one men, and twenty-nine guns, down to one hundred and ſix tons, fifty men, and twelve guns. Probably this was the chief part of the parliament's naval force. At this time aroſe a great coolneſs and jealouſy between the parliament and the Dutch republic; the Hollanders, through the intereſt of the Prince of Orange, having ſhewn a great partiality to the cauſe of the king, which produced a very warm remonſtrance from that aſſembly. It was therefore ſoon found neceſſary to increaſe the marine of England.

From the year 1645 we may date the commencement of private banking, which originated with the Goldſmith's Company. The proper buſineſs of the London goldſmiths had always been to buy and ſell plate, bullion, and foreign coins of gold and ſilver; to melt and cull them; to coin ſome at the mint; and with the reſt to ſupply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, as they found convenient to the advantages of trade. But, in conſequence of the civil broils which broke out about this period of King Charles's reign, the merchants and principal traders began to lodge their money in the goldſmiths hands, for its greater ſafety. This became ſo much the faſhion, that in a very ſhort time the banking ſcheme conſtituted a very conſiderable branch of buſineſs. The goldſmiths began to diſcount merchants bonds and bills, both in town and from the country; and alſo began to receive the rents of gentlemen's eſtates remitted to town, and to allow them, and others, who put caſh into their hands, ſome intereſt for it, if it remained only for a ſingle month. This was a great allurement to people to put out their money, and an invention that quickly brought an immenſe quantity of caſh into their hands; ſo that they were enabled to ſupply government, as the bank of England now does, with temporary ſums, for which theſe bankers took ten per cent. and on bills, tallies, orders, and debts due to the king, they ſometimes got from twenty to thirty per cent. to the great diſhonour

diſhonour of government. This gain induced the goldſmiths more and more to become lenders to government; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of parliament into pawn, as ſoon as it was given; ſo that in fact all the revenue paſſed through their hands.

One of the evils which had ariſen from the civil wars, was the introduction of exciſe into England. In the year 1642 the lords and commons in parliament laid a tax on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, Exciſe. And the king's parliament, when ſitting at Oxford, impoſed the like taxes on all within their power. The zeal of the city of London for the parliament was ſo great, as, according to Ruſhworth, to agree to a weekly payment of ten thouſand pounds, excluſive of Weſtminſter and the other ſuburbs, which likewiſe ſerves to prove the opulence of that great commercial body. But it is not to be ſuppoſed that this aſſeſſment was levied for any length of time, but merely to provide for a preſſing emergency. Indeed, the large ſums raiſed by the parliament during the ſix years war which they maintained againſt their king, proves the wealth of the nation; for from the year 1641 to the year 1647, upwards of forty millions ſterling was raiſed, or about ſix millions ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence yearly; and this enormous ſum is excluſive of what the king raiſed in the counties where his intereſt prevailed.

CROMWELL, who had by his ſecret intrigues been the chief inſtrument in compaſſing the king's death, well knew how to avail himſelf of that complication of diſorders which had ſeized the body-politic, and were produced by a civil and religious fervour, more epidemical and raging than any other age or country ever experienced. His views expanded with ſucceſs, and thoſe principles of liberty with which he ſet

ſet out, were ſwallowed up in the unbounded proſpect of power which now opened to his view. His weight and influence gave ſtability to the unſettled humours of the times; he ſeems indeed to have been made for the age in which he lived, and for that alone.

The firſt thing the parliament (for ſo the remnant of the houſe of commons now called themſelves) did after the king's death, was to paſs an act, ordaining, "That no perſon whatſoever do preſume to proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways promote, Charles Stuart, ſon of the late Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other perſon, to be king or chief magiſtrate of England or Ireland, &c. without the free conſent of the people in parliament, firſt had, and ſignified by a particular act of ordinance for that purpoſe; under pain of being adjudged a traitor." Soon after, February 5, they voted "the houſe of peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous," and an act was accordingly paſſed for aboliſhing it, though Cromwell is ſaid to have appeared for them. And, to remove all that ſtood in the way of their deſigned common-wealth, they reſolved and declared, "That it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and public intereſt, of the nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the form of government was declared to be a Common-wealth; and a council of ſtate was appointed, conſiſting of forty perſons, whereof Cromwell was one; to whom power was given, to command and ſettle the militia of England and Ireland, to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power as they ſhould think fit; to appoint magazines and ſtores for England and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of "the keepers of

the liberty of England." And a new oath, or engagement, was prepared, "to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers;" all who refuſed to take it, to be incapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate.

The new common-wealth being thus ſettled and ſecured, the commons next proceeded to puniſh thoſe who had been moſt remarkable for their attachment to their late ſovereign. The Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel, and the Earl of Holland, were condemned and executed; the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were alſo condemned, but afterwards pardoned. Theſe executions irritated the Scots: their loyalty began to return; and the inſolence of the independents, with their victories, inflamed them ſtill more. They determined therefore to acknowledge and proclaim Prince Charles for their king, but at the ſame time to abridge his power by every limitation which they had attempted to impoſe on his father. Charles, after the death of his father, having paſſed ſome time at Paris, the Scots ſent deputies to him, to invite him over, but on the expreſs condition of his conſenting to maintain preſbyterianiſm and the covenant. The king by no means liked theſe terms; and, as the Marquis of Montroſe had done great ſervice in Scotland for the king his father, he gave him a commiſſion to raiſes forces in Germany, and make a deſcent upon Scotland, chuſing rather to come in by force of arms than upon ſuch conditions. Montroſe accordingly landed in the north of Scotland with a ſmall force, hoping he ſhould ſoon be ſtrengthened by numbers coming in to him. But the Scots parliament took ſuch meaſures, that he was ſoon defeated, and fell into their hands, who condemned him to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, his head afterwards to be ſet upon the Tolbooth, at Edinburgh, his arms and legs at four ſeveral places, and his body to be buried under the gallows; which ſevere and ignominious ſentence was accordingly

ingly executed. Montroſe's expedition gave the Scots no very favourable opinion of the king, and they proceeded to treat with him in ſuch a manner, that not the leaſt alteration was to be made in the conditions they at firſt propoſed. Neceſſity, at laſt, made him comply, and ſo he embarked for Scotland, where he arrived in June 1650, but was not permitted to land, till he had taken the covenant. Charles had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh where the limbs of his faithful adherent, Montroſe, were ſtill expoſed.

The young king ſoon found that he had only exchanged his exile for impriſonment. He was ſurrounded and inceſſantly importuned by the fanatical clergymen, who, having brought royalty under their feet, were reſolved to keep it ſtill ſubſervient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of upſtarts. Charles pretended to give ear to their diſcourſes; but, however, made an attempt to eſcape. He was overtaken and brought back; when he owned the greatneſs of his fault, and teſtified his repentance for what he had done.

Here we ſhall leave the king at preſent, to take up the affairs of Ireland. Cromwell had been appointed by the parliament to command the army in Ireland, and was created lord-lieutenant. From the very moment of his receiving this charge, Cromwell uſed an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. Cromwell, while the king was yet in France, had a remarkable interview with Lord Broghill; who, having formed a deſign of deſerting the parliament's ſervice, as the Earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately to London, intending to go to the king in France. He was no ſooner come to London, but a gentleman came to him from Cromwell, to acquaint him that he would pay him a viſit, if he knew when he would be at leiſure; at which Broghill was

exceedingly ſurprized, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the meſſenger he ſuppoſed he was miſtaken in the perſon he was ſent to: but, the gentleman convincing him he was not, Lord Broghill owned who he was, and ſaid he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The meſſenger had not been long gone, before Cromwell came himſelf, and, after compliments paſſed, deſired to ſpeak with his lordſhip in private; when he told him, "He had a great reſpect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with ſomething that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it." He then told him, "that the council of ſtate were informed of his deſign in croſſing the water (which the Lord Broghill had communicated to two or three truſty friends only), that inſtead of going to the Spaw he deſigned going to the king, and take a commiſſion from him to act againſt the parliament in Ireland: that the council had good proof of what he ſaid, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpoſe; upon which it was reſolved to ſend him to the Tower; which had been done, if he himſelf had not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to ſee if he could be induced to alter his purpoſe." Lord Broghill, ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe to evade the matter, aſked Cromwell's pardon, thanked him for his good offices, and requeſted him to adviſe him. Cromwell replied, "That the council of ſtate and he were no ſtrangers to his actions in Ireland; and, the ſubduing of the rebels being committed to him, he was authorized by the council to offer him a general command, if he would ſerve in that war." Broghill readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour, that he would be faithful to the parliament: and ſo having received a commiſſion to be maſter of the ordnance, and to command in Munſter, he embarked for Ireland, where he was no ſooner arrived, but ſeveral gentlemen, who had ſerved under him in thoſe wars,

wars, joined him; ſo that he ſoon formed a troop of horſe, and, within a little time after, raiſed a regiment of fifteen hundred foot, which were ready to join Cromwell at his landing.---To return from this digreſſion---Cromwell, having diſpatched his buſineſs with the parliament, on the tenth of July left London, ſetting forward in great ſtate, being drawn in a coach with ſix horſes, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accoutered, both themſelves and ſervants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where the gentlemen, who accompanied him, took their leaves, wiſhing a proſperous iſſue to his undertaking. From hence he poſted directly for Briſtol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters neceſſary for the haſtening his men on ſhipboard.

Cromwell had ſent over three regiments before him; and theſe arrived in Dublin in ſuch good time, as to enable Jones, who commanded there, totally to rout the Marquis of Ormond's army before he arrived.---On the 2d of Auguſt 1649, Jones diſcovered a party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot beſides horſe, drawn down to their new work at Baggot-rath, a place about a quarter of a mile eaſtward of the city upon the ſea. Hence they deſigned to run their trenches towards the city-works, thereby to ſecure thoſe forts which were begun to be raiſed towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and ſupplies expected from England. But Jones and Reynolds, with the reſt of the commanders in the city, obſerving the enemy's deſign, judged it neceſſary to interrupt them: and ſo, preſently drawing out twelve hundred horſe and four thouſand foot, they ſoon entered the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with ſo much fury, that they routed the horſe at the firſt charge; and ſoon after cut in pieces the greateſt part of their foot, and took

moſt of the reſt priſoners. The report of this diſaſter ſoon reached General Ormond's ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and, underſtanding alſo, that Jones was making towards his main army, ſaid, "he wiſhed the rebels would come, that he might have ſome ſport with them," and ſo went on with his game. But he was ſoon forced to leave it; for Jones with his men following the chaſe to Rathmims, where Ormand's camp was, engaged the whole army, and, after two hours fight, totally routed them with a very great ſlaughter. Four thouſand were reckoned to be killed on the place and in the purſuit, and above two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, of whom ſeveral were men of quality, and, amongſt the reſt Ormond's own brother, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and proviſions, behind them; beſides a rich camp. This great victory was obtained with the loſs of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being miſſing after the fight was over. The ſucceſs was the more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides; Jones with his handful of men being led on ſtep by ſtep to a complete victory, whereas their utmoſt deſign, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baggot-rath. Ormond's party were ſo ſurprized, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army, where Jones ſeized four thouſand pounds very ſeaſonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to Kilkenny with a conſiderable number: others betook themſelves to Drogheda or Tredagh, whither he ſoon came himſelf with three hundred horſe, and in very good time; for Jones, hoping the town might be ſo terrified with this overthrow as to ſurrender, haſtened thither with ſome horſe to ſummon it; but, having notice of Ormond's coming, he marched back to Dublin.

Cromwell

Cromwell, being at Milford-haven, received the full account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loſs of Dublin. But, the clouds being diſperſed upon the news of the great ſucceſs his party had that he ſent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army. On the 13th of Auguſt he ſet ſail from Milford-haven with thirty-two ſhips, wherein was the van of his army; Ireton ſoon following him with the main body in forty-two other veſſels, and Hugh Peters with twenty ſail bringing up the rear. With a very proſperous wind they ſoon arrived at Dublin, where they were received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people reſounding in every ſtreet.

The army having refreſhed themſelves, and the lord-lieutenant having ſettled both the military and civil affairs of Dublin, he drew his forces out of the city to a general muſter, where appeared a complete body of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thouſand ſtout reſolute men, for the preſent ſervice. With this army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, he advanced towards Drogheda, a town well fortified, with a garriſon in it of two thouſand five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, a brave experienced ſoldier.

Cromwell was no ſooner come before Drogheda, but, obſerving the rules of war, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; which ſummons was ſlighted, and looked upon as rather a matter of formality, than that he expected to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governor ordered all things for a quick diſpatch of the ſiege. Ayſcough's ſhips blocked them up by ſea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red enſign diſplayed before the town. The beſieged were not much diſmayed at this, as expecting ſuccour from the Marquis of Ormond. Cromwell,

being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, would not ſpend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a ſtrong battery which ſoon levelled the ſteeple of a church on the ſouth ſide of the town, and a tower that ſtood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the eaſt and ſouth walls was demoliſhed, and two breaches made, which ſome regiments of foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the horſe to go in with them. Here the utmoſt bravery was ſhewn on both ſides, the breaches being not more courageouſly aſſaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within ſo furiouſly charged thoſe who firſt entered, that they drove them back again faſter than they came in. Cromwell, who was all this while ſtanding at the battery, obſerving this, drew out a freſh reſerve, and in perſon bravely entered with them once more into the town. This example of their general inſpired the ſoldiers with ſuch freſh courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and, having now gained the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword; Cromwell having expreſsly commanded not to ſpare any one that ſhould be found in arms; the deſign of which was to diſcourage other places from making oppoſition; to which purpoſe the lord-governor wrote to the parliament, "That he believed this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood." Aſton's men did not fall unrevenged; for they fought bravely, and deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The ſtreets at laſt proving too hot, they fled to the churches and ſteeples, and other places of ſhelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church-ſteeple, reſolving there to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible; but they were all quickly blown up with gunpowder, only one man eſcaping, who leaped from the tower. The wind befriending him, he received no further

further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which Cromwell's men ſeeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refuſed to yield upon ſummons, ſtrong guards were immediately put upon them to ſtarve them out; which ſoon had that effect as to make them ſurrender themſelves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but ſmall; for all the officers were preſently knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the ſoldiers killed, and the reſt thruſt on ſhipboard for Barbadoes. The governor, Sir Arthur Aſton, here likewiſe met his fate, being put to the ſword among the reſt. And thus was this this ſtrong place taken and ſacked in leſs than a week's time, which the Iriſh were three whole years in taking. This great action was ſo ſurpriſing, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, "That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by ſtorm, if he ſhould ſtorm hell, he would take it."

The diſmal deſtruction of this place rendered Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had ſo much reſolution as to expect a ſummons to ſurrender; and particularly the garriſons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like uſage, abandoned them to the conqueror. In this laſt place their haſte was ſo great, that they left their great guns behind them, on the platforms. Cromwell did not at that time carry on his conqueſts any further northward, but returned to Dublin, and marched with his army towards Wexford, that part lying convenient for ſubſiſting his army in the ſouthern counties. In his march, a place called Killingkerick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deſerted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. Arckloe-caſtle was likewiſe abandoned, and many other places ſubmitted to him.

On the firſt of October, Cromwell with his army came before Wexford, and ſent a ſummons to the governor, Colonel David Synnot, requiring a ſpeedy ſurrender. His anſwer was ſomewhat dubious, which occaſioned

occaſioned many papers to paſs betwixt him and Cromwell. The governor did this on purpoſe to protract time until the Earl of Caſtlehaven had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garriſon; and, having now received theſe recruits, he reſolved to defend the place as long as he could, and ſeemed to defy all attempts that might be made againſt him. Upon this, Cromwell applies himſelf in good earneſt to the work, and bends his great force againſt the caſtle, knowing that, upon the gaining of that, the town muſt ſoon follow. He cauſed a battery to be erected againſt it, whereby a ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the enemy, to treat about a ſurrender. In the mean time guns continued firing, no ceſſation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the caſtle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their poſt; whereupon ſome of Cromwell's men entered the caſtle, and ſet up their colours at the top of it. The enemy, obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts, ſo that the others, getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the town without any great oppoſition, and ſet open the gates for the horſe to enter, though they could do but little ſervice, all the ſtreets being barred with cables. The town being thus entered, none were ſuffered to live that were found in arms; and ſo they cut their way through the ſtreets, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought deſperately for ſome time; but were at laſt quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the ſword. Great riches were taken in this town, it being eſteemed by the enemy a place of ſtrength; and ſome ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coaſt. The reduction of this place was of very conſiderable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving ſupplies from England. And the ſeverity that was exerciſed here, had the ſame effect

fect with that uſed at Drogheda: the terror ſpreading into all towns and forts along the coaſt as far as Dublin, ſpared the general the trouble of ſummoning them.

The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet ſeaſon, Cromwell's troops ſuffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have obliged him for the preſent to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and determined to continue the war, or put an end to it as ſoon as poſſible. Being thus reſolved, he marches his army towards Roſs, a ſtrong town upon the Barrow. Lord Taffe was governor of this place, who had a ſtrong garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, Ormond, Caſtlehaven, and the Lord Ardes, in their own perſons, cauſed fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it; Cromwell's army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, as ſoon as the great guns began to play, the governor, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came to this agreement, "That the town be delivered to Lord-general Cromwell, and the garriſon ſhould march to Kilkenny:" which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but ſix hundred of them, being Engliſh, revolted to Cromwell.

In the mean time Kingſale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon-bridge, and other garriſons, declared for the conqueror; which garriſons proved of great uſe to the reducement of Munſter, and conſequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coot and Colonel Venables were very ſucceſsful in the north; and Lord Broghill and Colonel Hewſon did good ſervice in other places.

Cromwell, having made himſelf maſter of Roſs, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, and his army to ſit down before Duncannon, a ſtrong fort commanded by Colonel Wogan: but this place was ſo well provided with all things neceſſary, that it

was judged it would be time loſt to tarry long before it. And ſo the army quickly marched away into the county of Kilkenny; where Ormond ſeemed reſolved to give Cromwell battle. His army was ſtrong both in horſe and foot, far ſurpaſſing Cromwell's, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diſeaſes. Notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Upon which Eniſtegoe, a little walled town about five miles from Roſs, was reduced by Colonel Abbot; and Colonel Reynolds, with twelve troops of horſe, and three of dragoons, marched up to Carrick; where having divided his men into two parts, whilſt he amuſed them with one party, he entered a gate with the other, taking about a hundred priſoners without the loſs of a man.

News hereof was brought to Cromwell, then beſieging Waterford, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces ſhould draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he preſently detached a regiment of horſe and three troops of dragoons to reduce Paſſage-fort; which party met with the deſired ſucceſs, the fort and caſtle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being ſoon delivered up to them. But the ſiege of Waterford was not ſo ſucceſsfully carried on: for Cromwell perceiving that the city reſolved to ſtand upon their own defence, and it being now December, and the weather very wet, he thought it moſt adviſeable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refreſhed againſt the ſpring, for the better finiſhing of the work they had ſo proſperouſly begun. Whilſt the army continued in winter-quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not ſit ſtill, but viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in Munſter, and ordered all affairs both military and civil.

The

The month of January was hardly expired, when the army took the field again in two bodies, which he divided on purpoſe to diſtreſs the Marquis of Ormond. Cromwell took one party, and another was led by Ireton, who marched away to Carrick, in order to reinforce himſelf by the conjunction of Colonel Reynolds. The firſt place reduced by him was a caſtle called Kilkenny, upon the borders of the county of Limerick. After that he took in Cloghern-houſe, belonging to Sir Richard Everard, one of the ſupreme council of the Iriſh. From thence he marched to Roghill-caſtle, which upon ſummons was delivered up to him. Here with much difficulty he paſſed the river Shewr, and without delay marched to Feathard, a garriſon town. Being got into the ſuburbs about ten at night, he ſent a trumpet with a ſummons to the town; but they ſhot at the trumpet, and, being informed that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they ſaid, That it was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons in the night. Upon this, a reſolution being taken to ſtorm, the governor thought fit to ſend two commiſſioners to treat; and, after one night ſpent in the treaty, the town was ſurrendered next morning.

The forces having a little refreſhed themſelves at Feathard, the general marched with them from thence to Calan, garriſoned by the enemy. Here he was joined by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, making up in all a conſiderable body. The chief ſtrength of Calan conſiſted in three caſtles that were in the town: and theſe the ſoldiers ſtormed one after another, and carried them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that ſhort reſiſtance, all who were in arms being put to the ſword, except Butler's troops, which ſurrendered before the cannon was fired. This ſo terrified ſome who defended a houſe about a muſquet-ſhot from the town, that they preſently ſent to deſire liberty to remove to Kilkenny; which Cromwell readily granted. The ſoldiers, having ſufficiently furniſhed

themſelves with the proviſions they found in the town, marched back again to Feathard; by the way taking the two caſtles of Cnoctofer and Bullynard: after which ſoon followed Kiltennon, Arſennon, Coher, and Dundrum, very conſiderable places.

Cromwell had now entirely ſubdued all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. Theſe were places of great ſtrength, and would take up much time; however, he reſolved to attempt the laſt: but, fearing the force he had might not be ſufficient to carry on the deſign, he ſent orders to Colonel Hewſon, the new governor of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garriſons of Wexford, and the other poſts he had taken on that ſide. Accordingly Hewſon, after having taken Laughlin-bridge, joined the main army near Gowram, a populous town, defended by a ſtrong caſtle, whereof one Hammond was governor. Being ſummoned to deliver it up, he returned a very reſolute anſwer, having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were Ormond's own regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did ſuch furious execution, that he ſoon thought it time for him to beat a parley: but it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than theſe, "That the common ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and the officers be diſpoſed of as ſhould be thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which Hammond was enforced by the ſedition of the ſoldiers, he and all the commiſſion-officers, but one, were the next day ſhot to death; and the prieſt, who was chaplain to the popiſh ſoldiers in the regiment, hanged.

After this, Cromwell began the ſiege of Kilkenny. The garriſon there required a more than ordinary ſtrength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforced by thoſe who had ſurrendered upon articles the ſmall town and caſtles in that county. But Cromwell, not at all diſcouraged at this, on the 22d of March,

March, 1650, ſent firſt of all a ſmall party of horſe before to reconnoitre, and ſhortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanced within a mile of the city, he made a ſtand, and ſent a ſummons to the governor to deliver up the city, for the uſe of the parliament of England. The anſwer which was returned not being ſatisfactory, Cromwell made his approaches near to the wall, and cauſed a battery to be erected in the moſt convenient place for annoying the beſieged, and opening an entrance to the beſiegers. In the mean time the beſieged were not idle; but, obſerving where the enemy bent his greateſt ſtrength, endeavoured there to make the greateſt oppoſition, by raiſing two retrenchments within, ſtrongly palliſadoing them, and placing ſome pieces that might play to the beſt advantage. Cromwell however, having made all the neceſſary preparations, fell furiouſly to battering the walls; whereby, after firing about an hundred ſhot, a breach was opened. In the mean while Colonel Ewer, with a thouſand foot, was ordered to attempt another part of the city, called Iriſh-town; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the ſoldiers were ordered to attack the forementioned breach; which they accordingly did, but were forced to retreat with loſs. However, the deſign took effect; for by this means the whole ſtrength of the enemy was held in play, while Colonel Ewer with his party gained Iriſh-town; which they did with very little loſs. There was on the other ſide of the river another ſmall town, or ſuburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to ſend eight companies of foot to poſſeſs themſelves of it; which was done without any oppoſition. This animated them to endeavour to force a paſſage over the bridge into the city; but the ſame misfortune happened as before at the breach. However, theſe deſperate attempts occaſioned the governor to reflect more ſeriouſly upon his preſent circumſtances: and, after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms;

"Firſt,

" First, That the city and caſtle ſhould be delivered up to Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and public ſtores. Secondly, The inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, from the violence of the ſoldiery; and ſuch as had a mind to remove, to have liberty ſo to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, The governor, officers, and ſoldiers, to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, The city to pay two thouſand pounds as a gratuity to Cromwell's army."

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry, of Cromwell; who would always bear a ſhare in the hardſhips his ſoldiers were expoſed to, and never flinch from them at any time when his perſonal valour was neceſſary; ſo that he frequently laid aſide the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private ſoldier.

Cromwell ſtayed no longer at Kilkenny than was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of that city; after which he marched with the army to Carrick. Here he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of Kilkenny, and ſeveral other places of leſs importance. Here having refreſhed his men, he left that place, and ſet down before Clonmell, another conſiderable place, in which was a garriſon of two thouſand foot, and a hundred and twenty horſe. No ſooner was the ſiege formed, but Colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were ordered to march away with a detachment of two thouſand five hundred horſe, foot, and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's deſign of falling into the parliament's quarters; and, notice thereof being ſent to Sir Charles Coot, he thereupon took the field with three thouſand men. But, the enemy ſhifting from place to place to avoid fighting, Colonel Reynolds, that his men might

not

not remain idle, beſieged Tecrogham. In the mean time Lord Broghill being detached with another party of one thouſand four hundred horſe and dragoons, and one thouſand two hundred foot, to fight the Biſhop of Roſs, who, with five thouſand men, was marching to relieve Clonmell, he ſoon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about ſeven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as alſo the biſhop himſelf with the ſtandard of the church of Munſter. Lord Broghill's horſe are ſaid to have done the ſervice before the foot came up, and at ſuch a paſs, where a hundred muſqueteerss might have repelled all the horſe in Ireland. The biſhop was carried to a caſtle which was kept by his own forces, and there hanged before the walls, in the ſight of the garriſon; who were ſo diſmayed at it, that they immediately ſurrendered the caſtle to the parliament's forces. This biſhop uſed to ſay, "There was no way to ſecure the Engliſh, but by hanging them;" and now himſelf met with the ſame fate. Theſe advantages were a great encouragement to thoſe who lay before Clonmell; which the lord-lieutenant uſed more than ordinary induſtry to reduce, underſtanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all reſpects prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Beſides, it was governed by an active Iriſhman, one Hugh O'Neal, who had employed all hands in the town for caſting up new counterſcarps on the inſide of the old walls, and doing every thing elſe that might tend to ſecure the place; ſo that it ſeemed impoſſible to gain it by aſſault. However, Cromwell, whoſe buſineſs now required a quick diſpatch, as his ſervice was likely very ſoon to be wanted elſewhere, reſolved to try that courſe; and ſo having ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he ordered the great guns to be planted; which did ſuch noble execution, that a breach was very ſoon opened, which the beſiegers, upon a

ſignal given, courageouſly entered, and met with as gallant reſiſtance from the beſieged; notwithſtanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful ſucceſs, there being a great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at laſt the enemy was forced to quit the place, and betake themſelves to flight; and, though they were much favoured by ſome hills near the town, yet could they not eſcape the fury of the victorious ſoldiers, who killed many of them in the purſuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himſelf in this fight, gave this account of it: "That they found in Clonmell the ſtouteſt enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland; and it was his opinion, and of many more, that there never was ſo hot a ſtorm of ſo long a continuance, and ſo gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland." The ſubduing of this place, though with ſo much difficulty, made ſuch an impreſſion on many more, that in a very little time they ſubmitted without reſiſtance.

While Cromwell was thus conquering in one part of Ireland, Coot and Venables had the like ſucceſs in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: the Biſhop of Clogher was here entirely routed, and, being taken priſoner, met with the ſame fate as the Biſhop of Roſs; and in this fight three thouſand of the Iriſh were ſlain.

Thus the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with ſucceſs; and he gave a conſtant account of his proceedings to the parliament and council of ſtate, in all his letters exhorting them "to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due." He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, which he had miſſed of before; and had actually blocked up Waterford, when, about the middle of May, he was by order, or rather requeſt, of the parliament, obliged to leave the finiſhing of his conqueſts to his ſon-in-law Ireton,

Ireton, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. He had been in Ireland about nine months.

Waterford was ſurrendered ſoon after his departure; and ſo remarkable was the parliament's ſucceſs in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour of Cromwell, and thoſe whom he employed under him, that, in leſs than a year's time, they were maſters of all but Limerick, Galloway, and ſome few garriſons and forces on the Faſtneſſes. Before Cromwell left Ireland, that he might the better weaken the Iriſh, he contrived means for tranſporting no leſs than forty thouſand of them out of the nation, into the ſervice of foreign princes; of whom few ever returned again to their native country.

Cromwell being returned to London, and having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker in an elegant ſpeech gave him the thanks of the houſe, for the great and faithful ſervices he had performed for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland: after which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the preſent ſtate and condition of that kingdom.

Ireton died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure from Ireland. He had proceeded very ſucceſsfully in his new government and command; and, after the taking of ſeveral places, giving articles to ſome, and making examples of others, he attempted the ſtrong city of Limerick, which, after a long ſiege, at laſt ſurrendered to him: but, falling ſick of the plague here ſhortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. The new commonwealth had a great loſs by his death; and, to expreſs their gratitude for his important ſervices, ordered his body to be brought over to England; where, having firſt lain in ſtate in Somerſet-houſe, he was interred at Weſtminſter among the Engliſh kings, with great pomp and magnificence.

On the return of Cromwell to England, he was choſen commander in chief of the parliamentary forces,

in the room of Fairfax, who declined oppoſing the preſbyterians. The new general immediately ſet forward for Scotland with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. On the 20th of July, 1650, he cauſed a general rendezvous of his forces to be on Haggerſton-moor, four miles from Berwick. Being all drawn up, the general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then diſmiſſed them to their quarters, whilſt himſelf went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was ſent into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

The army being thus quarterred upon the very edge of Scotland, Cromwell, two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, the ſtage whereon they were ſo ſoon to act their parts. Here he made a ſpeech to them, declaring the grounds of their preſent undertaking, and ſomething in relation to his coming from Ireland, and "the Providence that had deſigned this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf." This ſpeech was anſwered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the ſoldiers; who, being ordered to march, went on ſhouting as they entered Scotland. That night they quartered in a field near Lord Mordington's caſtle; where Cromwell, for the better preſerving good order and diſcipline, cauſed proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, ſhould offer violence or injury to the perſons or goods of any in Scotland not in arms; and withal, that none on the ſame penalty do preſume, without ſpecial licence, to ſtraggle half a mile from their quarters." From hence they advanced for Coberſpath, and the next day arrived at Dunbar, where they were recruited with proviſions from the ſhips ſent thither from

from England for that purpoſe: for the country afford them none; the Scotch eſtates having taken a courſe before-hand, to clear all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh of all things that might afford any ſuccour or relief to the Engliſh army. The army, being ſomewhat refreſhed, marched to Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh; and all this without the the leaſt oppoſition, not ſeeing ſo much as the face of an enemy in arms: nor did they in all their march ſee one Scotchman under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their miniſters telling them, "That the Engliſh would cut the throats of all between ſixty and ſixteen years old, cut off the right hands of all the youths under ſixteen and above ſix, burn the women's breaſts with hot irons, and deſtroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army marched through ſome towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breaſts before they deſtroyed them, and children begged them to ſave their lives; ſo much did the people believe what their miniſters had told them.

The next day after the army's remove to Haddington, they underſtood that the enemy was diſpoſed to give them battle on a heath called Gladſmoor. Whereupon the Engliſh endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the place before them, that they might have the advantage of ground in caſe they ſhould meet them: but the Scots, it ſeems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this Major-general Lambert and Colonel Whalley were ordered to advance with one thouſand four hundred horſe toward Muſſelborough, four miles from Edinburgh; and Major Hains, commanding the forlorn, faced the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day Cromwell drew up the whole of his army before Edinburgh, near which the Scotch army was encamped upon a very advantageous ground. Here ſome ſkirmiſhes happened about

the poſſeſſion of King Arthur's-hill, a place within a mile of the city; which the Engliſh gained, having beaten the enemy from it; and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of a church and ſeveral houſes. But all theſe provocations could not prevail on the Scots to forſake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. Cromwell intended to have made an attempt upon them; but there fell ſo great a rain, which continued all night, and part of the next day, and his men were ſo wearied out with hard duty, that he was obliged to draw off his army to Muſſelborough, there to refreſh and recruit it with proviſions. As he drew off, the Scots, who laboured all they could to vex and diſtreſs the Engliſh army without coming to a general engagement with them, ſallied out, and, falling upon the rear-guard, put them into ſome diſorder: but Major-general Lambert and Colonel Whalley, coming in to their relief, routed the Scots, and beat them back into their trenches. Lambert was wounded in the charge, and had his horſe killed under him; but they took two colours, and ſeveral priſoners of the enemy; whilſt the king ſtood all the while upon the caſtle and ſaw the encounter. Some few of the Engliſh were killed, but far more of the Scots, amongſt whom were ſome perſons of quality. After this, the Engliſh marched on quietly to Muſſelborough, though in a very wet and weary condition; that night they ſtood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be ſet upon by their enemy; as at laſt they were: for, between three and four o'clock in the morning, Major-general Montgomery, and Colonel Straughan, with fifteen companies of choice horſe, fell into their quarters with ſuch fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horſe in diſorder. But the Engliſh, taking the alarm, charged them ſo home that they put them to the rout, and purſued them within half a league of Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, killing ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, and taking many priſoners.

The army, having now well-nigh ſpent their proviſions, retired again to Dunbar, to meet and take in ſuch freſh ſupplies as were ſent thither by ſea, by order of the Engliſh parliament. Here they received their tents and proviſions from the ſhips. After two days ſpent in exhortation to the army, and in ſeeking God for his bleſſing upon their actions, they again advanced towards Edinburgh; where the Scots were keeping a ſolemn thankſgiving for their ſuppoſed great deliverance, imagining the Engliſh army was quite gone; though it ſeems Leſley was not ſo confident, but expected another viſit from the Engliſh; for, upon their return, they found Muſſelborough more forlórn than before, he having commanded, "That the gude women of the town ſhould aw' come away with their gear, and not any ſtay to brew or bake for the Engliſh army, on pain of death."

Cromwell, however, finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to an engagement, on the 17th of Auguſt marched his army from Muſſelborough, and pitched his tents on Pencland-hills, within view of Edinburgh. In this march the enemy drew forth ſeveral bodies of horſe and faced the Engliſh, but came not within gun-ſhot.

On the 18th the Scots drew forth on the weſt ſide of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the ſea, to the number of three thouſand horſe, apprehending the Engliſh deſigned to poſſeſs a paſs over the ſaid river. The general, ſeeing this, drew out a body of troops, and went in perſon before them, to ſhew how ready he was to fight; on which the Scots, ſtill having no mind to fight, returned back again to their quarters. Next day, part of the Engliſh army took the houſe of Redhaugh, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a garriſon ſituated within a mile and a half of Edinburgh, and had about eighty foot to defend it; and, though the

the Engliſh ſtormed it in ſight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it.

On the 26th of Auguſt, the Scots ſent to General Cromwell, to deſire a conference between ſome of themſelves and ſome of his officers. The chief deſign of this conference was to wipe off a pretended aſperſion that was caſt upon them, and ſpread over both armies, as if they kept themſelves in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themſelves from theſe calumnies, they aſſured the Engliſh, "That, when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give them battle." The next morning the Scotch army, as if they deſigned ſo ſoon to make good what they had ſaid, drew out upon a march; which Cromwell no ſooner obſerved, but he prepared to meet them, and the ſoldiers took down their tents, laid aſide their knapſacks, and put themſelves every way into a fit poſture to meet and receive the enemy. But the Scots, it ſeems, had ſtill no mind to come to an engagement; for, when the Engliſh army drew near them, they found they were ſeparated from them by a great bog and a deep ditch; ſo that they could not come at them to engage, without running ſuch hazards as were not neceſſary at that time. Both armies ſtood all that night in battalia; and the next morning, the great guns roared on both ſides for about the ſpace of an hour; by which one-and-twenty of the Engliſh were killed or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, however, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a cloſer fight.

Upon this Cromwell marched back his army to their former quarters on Pencland hills; where they were no ſooner arrived but they were informed, that the Scots had ſent out a party to take in Muſſelborough and Preſtonpans, thereby to cut off proviſions from the Engliſh army. Hereupon the general gave orders for the army to march that way. They arrived at

Muſſelborough without any moleſtation from the enemy, who in the mean time took poſſeſſion of what they had left behind them on Pencland hills.

By this means, and by frequent ſkirmiſhes and haraſſing the Engliſh, the Scots hoped at laſt to tire them out, depending much upon the diſagreeableneſs of the climate to their conſtitution, eſpecially, if they ſhould keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in thoſe parts. And their counſels ſucceeded according to their wiſh; for by this time the Engliſh army, through hard duty, want of proviſions (the ſtores brought by ſea being now exhauſted) and the rigour of the ſeaſon, grew very ſickly, and diminiſhed daily; the Scotch army in the mean time increaſing, and continuing in good heart. Cromwell, reflecting upon the ſtate of his affairs, and conſidering the weak condition of his army, reſolved in this exigency to retreat with them once more to Dunbar.

On the 30th of Auguſt he drew out his army from Muſſelborough, and marched towards Haddington. The Scots, obſerving the Engliſh army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon the rear-guard of the horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of the foot, which put them into ſome diſorder. Being come to Haddington, the Scots conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the Engliſh quarters on the weſt end of the town; but were ſoon repulſed and ſent further off. Next day, being the firſt of September, the Engliſh continued their march for Dunbar. The Scotch army followed at a convenient diſtance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and, ſeeing the Engliſh lodged in Dunbar, hovered about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure prey. Cromwell was now in great diſtreſs, and looked upon himſelf as undone. His army was

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in a very weak and ſickly condition, and in great want of proviſions, whereby their courage alſo was very much abated; whilſt the Scots were ſtout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And beſides, they more than doubled the Engliſh in number, being about twenty-ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. The Scots had alſo ſecured Coberſpath, the only paſs between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the Engliſh army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to yield themſelves priſoners, and tamely give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies; or to fight upon thoſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages. In this extremity Cromwell, on the ſecond of September, called a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Preſently after, Cromwell walking in the Earl of Roxburgh's garden, that lay under the hill, by glaſſes diſcerned a great motion in the Scotch camp; he thereupon ſaid, "God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us." The Scots, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolved to fight the Engliſh, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continued, the Engliſh could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to Leſly's opinion; who, though chief in command, had a committee of the ſtates to give him his orders. This reſolution of the Scots, to fall upon the Engliſh, was for ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerved, Cromwell reſolved to fall upon them.

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The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match-locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and, early in the morning, being Tueſday the third of September, before they were put in order, General Cromwell drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the horſe-guards, made them retire. Then, immediately his bodies both of horſe and foot advancing, the fight grew hot on all ſides; till, after about an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was entirely routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the the artillery and ammuntion, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and with the loſs of ſcarcely three hundred Engliſh. Cromwell himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London with ſolemn thankſgiving: and the colours taken in this battle, being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Weſtminſter-hall.

Soon after the battle of Dunbar, the general, the better to improve his victory, and to ſecure what he had obtained, ſent Lambert with a ſtrong party of horſe and foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and ſecure Leith, that the Engliſh ſhips might there the more readily and conveniently ſupply the army with all neceſſaries. The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deſerted Edinburgh, Lambert on the ſame day obtained a quiet poſſeſſion of it, as

alſo of Leith; in both which places were found ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions; which the Scots, by reaſon of their haſte, could not carry away with them. But though the Engliſh had thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the town of Edinburgh, the caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by Cromwell.

Soon after Lambert had taken poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, Cromwell himſelf came up, and cauſed his whole army to march into that city; and preparations were made for the ſiege of the caſtle. He next publiſhed a proclamation againſt a company of ſturdy fellows, called Moſs-troopers, who very much moleſted the army, and, by the treachery and connivance of the country people, killed many of the Engliſh ſoldiers. Soon after this proclamation was publiſhed, Colonel Monk, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was ſent to reduce Derlington-houſe, one of the neſts of theſe moſs-troopers: which, being joined by Lambert, he ſoon effected, taking all that were within priſoners; whereof two of the moſt notorious, with their captain, one Waite, were preſently ſhot to death. After this, Monk taking with him a party of ſix hundred foot, marched againſt Roſlan-caſtle; where, though at firſt he met with ſome reſiſtance, it was quickly ſurrendered to him.

Cromwell made what uſe he could of the differences and diſſenſions that were in Scotland, and endeavoured to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he ſent ſeveral times to Ker and Straughan in the weſt, to invite them to come in to him. Straughan ſhortly after withdrew himſelf from his party, and cloſed with the Engliſh, leaving Ker to comm and all himſelf. The general ſtill endeavoured to draw him over, but all in vain; and, ſince he could not prevail by fair means, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the difficulty of marching

at

at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of November, he ordered Lambert and Whalley, with five regiments of horſe, to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the ſouth ſide of the river Clyde; whilſt himſelf marched from Edinburgh on the north ſide. Having ſtaid here ſome ſmall time, till he had good intelligence where Lambert and his party were, and withal the weather being very bad, he marched back again to Edinburgh. Ker having notice of this, as alſo that Lambert was at Hamilton, thought he had now an opportunity to ſurprize him: and, accordingly ſetting upon a ſudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horſe, he before day with great fury broke into Lambert's quarters; and, meeting with no reſiſtance at his firſt entry, he confidently marched up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty ſoldiers having upon the alarm ſuddenly mounted, and being favoured by a tree that lay acroſs the ſtreet, obſtructed their march till the whole garriſon was alarmed. The ſuddenneſs of this attempt put the Engliſh into ſome ſurprize; but, ſoon recovering themſelves, they left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy and to ſecure the rear, whilſt the reſt drew out with deſign to ſurround the enemy's whole party; who, perceiving this in time, very dexterouſly faced about and betook themſelves to flight. In this encounter, which was but ſhort, near a hundred of the Scots were ſlain, and as many made priſoners. Ker himſelf was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Thoſe who fled were purſued as far as Air, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the Remonſtrators, were alſo put to the rout.

This victory was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Edinburgh caſtle, the moſt conſiderable ſtrong-hold in Scotland, which was thought impregnable by ſituation and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock,

has but one entrance into it, and that very ſteep, and by which but two or three can go a-breaſt, and overlooks and commands all places about it; ſo that the lord-general's men were often very much galled in their quarters at Edinburgh, by the great guns playing from thence. When Cromwell came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was ſoon after the defeat of Dunbar, he ſummoned the governor to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing ſeemed to encourage the attempting it by ſtorm; and, all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolved to force it by mines. In order to this work, both Engliſh and Scotch miners were ſent for, and, towards the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great guns, and ſeveral volleys of ſmall ſhot. But this proved no impediment to the Engliſh, who with indefatigable labour wrought the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for, having contrived to make holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing. But this mining work going but ſlowly on, Cromwell fearing it would not anſwer his deſign, and that he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle up into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and, to that end, he raiſed a battery fortified with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The battery, notwithſtanding all obſtructions, being raiſed to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and ſix battering guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle. The governor reſolved to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was hung out in defiance on the top of the caſtle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this,

this, Cromwell thought it high time to exert his utmoſt force; and accordingly ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time thought fit to beat a parley, and came to an agreement upon theſe articles: "Firſt, That the caſtle of Edinburgh, the cannons, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to Cromwell. Secondly, That the Scots have liberty to carry away their public regiſters, public moveables, private evidences and writs, into Fife or Sterling. Thirdly, That, as to thoſe goods in the caſtle belonging to any perſon whatſoever, the owners ſhould have them reſtored to them. Fourthly, That the governor and all military officers, and ſoldiers, might depart without moleſtation, carrying their arms and baggage, with drums beating, and colours flying, to Bruntiſland in Fife. Moreover, the ſick and wounded ſoldiers to ſtay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the ſame benefit of articles with the reſt of their fellows." According to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a ſiege of three months, delivered up to the victorious Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, eight thouſand arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry, and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was a thing ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the Scots cried out, "That Cromwell took it only by ſilver bullets." But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, was, that the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

The main buſineſs the Scots were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delayed by the kirk and ſtates, that he might have time to "humble himſelf for his father's ſins and his own tranſgreſſions."

tranſgreſſions." But the vigorous proceedings of the Engliſh put them at laſt upon haſtening that which they of themſelves were backward enough in. The firſt of January, 1651, was appointed for this ſolemnity, which was performed at Scone, with the greateſt pomp and magnificence that the preſent ſtate of the nation was capable of. His majeſty having ſubſcribed both the covenants, the Marquis of Argyle ſet the crown upon his head; at which the people expreſſed their joy by their loud acclamations of "God ſave King Charles the Second." The main deſign was now to form ſuch an army, as might not only ſecure what they had ſtill in their hands, but drive the Engliſh (whom they now called the common enemy) quite out of their country. To effect this, all perſons were promiſcuouſly admitted into the army, commiſſions were granted for raiſing horſe and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majeſty ſet up his royal ſtandard at Aberdeen, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary ſoldiers flocked from all parts. From thence he marched to Sterling; where, having muſtered his army, he made Duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general. David Leſley major-general, Middleton major-general of the horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh troops.

Cromwell, obſerving theſe proceedings, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of all thoſe garriſons of the Scots which were on the ſouth ſide of the Frith. To this end, he ordered Col. Fenwick to reduce Hume caſtle. Fenwick, having drawn his men up before the caſtle, ſent a ſummons to the governor, whoſe name was Cockburn, who being, it ſeems, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling anſwer: "Right honourable, I have received a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a paſs, to ſurrender Hume caſtle to the Lord-general Cromwell: pleaſe you, I never ſaw your general. As for Hume caſtle, it ſtands upon a rock. Given at Hume caſtle this day before ſeven a clock.

So

So reſteth, without prejudice to my native country, your moſt humble ſervant, Th. Cockburn." And ſoon after he ſent the colonel theſe verſes:

I William of the Waſtle
Am now in my caſtle:
And aw the dogs in the town
Shan't gar me gang down.

But the governor did not long continue in this merry humour: for Fenwick having planted a battery againſt the caſtle, and made a ſmall breach, as the Engliſh were juſt ready to enter, Cockburn beat a parley. But the colonel would now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governor with his garriſon, being ſeventy-eight, commanders and private ſoldiers, marched out of the caſtle.---Colonel Monk was alſo detached with about three regiments of horſe and foot, to reduce Tantallon caſtle. Being come before it, he cauſed the mortar-pieces to play for eight-and-forty hours: but theſe did little execution; till ſix battering guns, being planted, were ſo well managed, that the governor and thoſe that were with him were forced to ſubmit to mercy.

The king, having now got ſome authority, viſited all the garriſons in Fife, and endeavoured to put them in ſuch a poſture as to hinder the Engliſh from landing on that ſide the Frith. To this end he alſo drew from Sterling ſuch horſe and foot as could be well ſpared, and quartered them all along the water-ſide. Then he viſited the highlanders, endeavouring to compoſe the diſſenſions that were amongſt them, and to prevail on them to riſe unanimouſly for him. Middleton marched out of theſe parts with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot: and, about the ſame time, the town of Dundee, as a teſtimony of their great reſpect to the king, and to ſhew their forwardneſs in promoting his intereſt, advanced at their own charge a complete well-armed regiment of horſe, whom they ſent,

with a ſtately tent, and ſix field-pieces, with carriages and ammunition, as a preſent to his majeſty then at Sterling; where all being joined, made up an army of twenty thouſand men. And endeavours were ſtill uſed for augmenting this army; for which purpoſe, the Earl of Eglantoun, with ſome other commanders, were ſent into the weſt, to raiſe what forces they could. Theſe, coming to Dumbarton to execute their commiſſions, were ſuddenly ſurprized by a party of horſe ſent thither by Colonel Lilburn for that purpoſe; who took the earl himſelf, his ſon Colonel Montgomery, Lieutenant-colonel Colburn, &c. and brought them priſoners to Edinburgh.

Cromwell had for ſome time laboured under a very great indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the unſuitableneſs of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter ſeaſon in thoſe parts. This confined him wholly to his chamber, and utterly diſabled him to act in perſon with the army, how great occaſion ſoever there might be.---We take this opportunity to ſay a few words on Mr. Love's plot. About this time a plot was diſcovered in England, which had been carried on by the preſbyterian party, and chiefly by the miniſters of that perſuaſion, in order to promote the deſigns of their Scottiſh brethren, and help forward his majeſty's reſtoration to the Engliſh throne, as a king under ſufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Caſe, and Mr. Drake, very eminent Preſbyterian divines, beſides ſome others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of ſtate. Jenkins, Caſe, and Drake, confeſſed themſelves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble ſubmiſſion pardoned. But Love, as being more guilty than any of the reſt, was, together with one Gibbons, beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d of Auguſt. He was condemned the 5th of July, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions

petitions were presented from himself and his friends to the parliament, for saving his life, but to no purpose; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, several ministers, in and about London, came to the house, Praying earnestly, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ, who, when they were sinners, died for them, if not totally to spare the life of their dear brother, that yet they would say of him as Solomon of Abiathar, "That at this time he shall not be put to death." Upon this he was reprieved for one month; during which time, all possible solicitations were used to those in power, and particular application was made to Cromwell in Scotland, who sent back a letter signifying his free consent to the pardon of him: but some cavaliers stopping the post-boy, and searching his packet, with great indignation tore the general's letter that concerned Mr. Love, as thinking he deserved not to live, who, according to them, had been such an incendiary in the treaty at Uxbridge. And so, the parliament and council of state hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his silence was designed as an absolute denial; upon which Love was executed on the foresaid day.

Cromwell was no sooner able to stir abroad, than he consulted with his chief officers on the best method of carrying on the war. For this purpose, it was thought proper to contract their quarters by drawing in the outguards or petty garrisons, which were of little use, and were often very much molested by the Scots. And now the army, being thus drawn together into one body, were supplied with thirty-three waggons and carriages for the train from Berwick; and, all things being in readiness for the campaign, the general, on June 24th, ordered the army to Pencland hills, a place well known to the English. Here they encamped, and the general feasted his officers in his tent, with several of their ladies, and many other English gentlewomen, who came from Leith to see the soldiers in their tents.

The army, having continued ſome ſmall time in this poſture, marched away to Newbridge, and thence to Lithgow; where, from the battlements of the caſtle, they could diſcern the tents of the Scotch army, which lay encamped at Torwood near Sterling; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horſe in great bodies lying about them for ſecurity, who were alſo fenced with a river and with bogs; ſo that the Engliſh could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs. However, the general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, marched his army in battalia ſo near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly ſeen; and ſo ſtood for the ſpace of eight hours waiting for the coming of the Scots; who, thinking it better to ſpin out time than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon Cromwell drew off to Glaſgow, where, having refreſhed his wearied men, he marched them back again; and, underſtanding that the Scots had removed their camp to Kelſith, he wheeled about, and ſhortly after quartered his army at Monks-land, within four miles of the enemy. But they ſtill refuſed to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greateſt hazard. This ſo provoked him, that he reſolved to fall upon part of their forces that defended Calendar-houſe. And ſo, on the 15th of July, he ordered two battering guns to be planted, which having played with great violence for about eight hours, at laſt beat down the walls in ſeveral places. Notwithſtanding which, the governor expecting relief from the Scotch army, which lay in ſight of him, reſolved to hold out to the utmoſt. Upon which, Cromwell ſent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, ſince they could not be prevailed on to ſubmit. Theſe men, having provided themſelves with faggots, unloaded themſelves into the enemy's moat, and ſo, ſpringing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſe, having ſlain the gover-

nor

nor with ſixty-two of his men. The Scotch army all this while looked on, as if they were not at all concerned in the matter.

Cromwell, finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to a battle, reſolved now to attack Fife, that thereby he might cut off thoſe ſupplies from them that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after taking Calendar-houſe, Colonel Overton, with ſixteen hundred foot and four troops of horſe, put out into the Forth, being ordered to land at the North-ferry in Fife; which he did in ſpight of thoſe ſhowers of great and ſmall ſhot, that were poured upon him as he approached the ſhore; in return to which he cauſed his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with ſo much courage and bravery, that the Scots betook themſelves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, Cromwell kept cloſe up to the Scots with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in caſe they moved to diſturb his enterprize. However, the king ſent Major-general Brown and Colonel Holborn with four thouſand men, to force the enemy out of Fife again; but, before they could come up to them, Lambert and Okey paſſed over the Forth with two regiments of horſe and two of foot, and joined Overton. And the Engliſh with this unexpected reinforcement falling upon Brown and Holborn, entirely defeated them, killing two thouſand upon the ſpot, and taking priſoners Major-general Brown himſelf, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, ſeventeen lieutenants, twenty-nine enſigns, five quarter-maſters, ſix-and-twenty ſerjeants, five-and-twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common ſoldiers, with two-and-forty colours of horſe and foot. Brown, being thus defeated and reduced to the condition of a priſoner, lived not long after; dying, as was thought, of grief for this diſaſter. After this blow, the Engliſh took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they ap-

proached them. Lambert, in the first place, came before a strong fort called Innesgary, situated in an isle lying in the Frith, betwixt Queen's-ferry and the pass to Fife. The garrison here was so terrified at the news of the late overthrow, that, being summoned by Lambert, they were content to march away with only their swords by their sides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, and sixteen pieces of ordnance, to the English.

The news of the defeat in Fife being brought to the king, who still lay strongly encamped in Torwood, occasioned so great a consternation in his army, that with great precipitation he decamped, and marched into Sterling-park. Cromwell followed speedily after them in the rear; and, marching over the ground where they so lately lay, he perceived they had left behind them all their sick men, a barrel of powder, three of ball, many muskets, and three barrels of hand-granadoes. The general followed them within two miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of July, 1651, marched away his army to Lithgow; from whence he caused the greatest part of them to be transported over into Fife, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other side of the water. The general himself retired to Leith, to provide for the supply of his soldiers; and here he received the welcome news of the surrender of Bruntisland to Lambert; who having brought his army before it, the governor of the place was so dismayed, that after a short parley he delivered it up on these conditions: "First, That the soldiers in garrison (being about five hundred) should march away with flying colours. Secondly, That the inhabitants of the town should have what belonged to them. Thirdly, That all provisions of war, together with all guns

guns and ſhipping of war, ſhould be delivered up for the uſe of the commonwealth of England." This place was of great advantage to the Engliſh; for, it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the courſe of their conqueſts, have continued ſupplies of all that was neceſſary and convenient for them.

Cromwell, having ſettled matters at Leith, immediately croſſed the Frith to his army, which was then at Bruntiſland; diſpatching Whalley to reduce the ſmaller garriſons upon the coaſt of Fife, and leaving Colonel Weſt's regiment in Bruntiſland, he, with the reſt of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of July, marched away towards St. John's-town; that, by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the Highlanders from ſending ſupplies of men or proviſions to Sterling. Being come before it, he ſent this ſummons to the town, "That being informed the town was void of a garriſon, ſave the inhabitants and ſome few countrymen, he required them to deliver the ſame to him immediately; promiſing to ſecure their perſons from violence, and their goods from plunder." The meſſenger, who carried this ſummons was, contrary to the expectation of the Engliſh, denied admittance, and came back with this ſhort reply from the townſmen, "That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters." But the magiſtrates ſoon ſent after him a meſſage, declaring, "That the king had ſent a very ſtrong party, able to maintain the town, and overpower them with a governor: but that they had obtained leave from the governor to excuſe themſelves, by ſhewing how unable they were to treat." It ſeems, the Lord Duffus had the day before entered the town with thirteen hundred men; but the general, upon his refuſal of the new ſummons which he ſent him, having drained the water out of the moats round about the town, and battered the walls with his cannon, obliged him to ſurrender in a day's time.

Theſe

These wonderful successes, which attended the English arms, threw the king's affairs in Scotland into great perplexity and distress; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into England. He was now much nearer England than Cromwell, who could not possibly overtake him, till after his majesty had been some days march before him. His fate depended upon the success of one battle; and he had reason to believe, that all the northern parts of England were well affected to him. Upon this, it was resolved, that the army should with all possible expedition advance into England, by the nearest ways that led into Lancashire; whither his majesty sent expresses to his friends in those parts, that they might have their soldiers in readiness to receive him. He also sent an express to the Earl of Derby, who was then in the Isle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancashire. The Marquis of Argyle was the only person who dissuaded the king from marching into England; but, the contrary opinion prevailing, Argyle retired to his house in the Highlands. And so, on the last day of July, the king began his march from Sterling, and on the 6th of August entered England by way of Carlisle, with an army of about sixteen thousand men.

The noise of this sudden invasion gave a most terrible alarm to the whole nation, especially to the parliament at Westminster, who were still more dismayed at the reports of the greatness of the king's army, and his design of mounting his foot-soldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to pass severe censures on Cromwell, and condemned him of rashness and precipitation; whilst he in the mean time took care to satisfy them as well as he could, and assured them, "That he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they should give them any trouble." Accordingly, that he might lose no time, he ordered Major-general Lambert to follow the king immediately with seven or eight hundred

dred horſe, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to moleſt the king's march as much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp actions, without a very manifeſt advantage, but keeping himſelf entire till he ſhould come up to him.

The parliament exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion. The militia of moſt counties was ordered to be drawn into the field, to obſtruct the king's march. Two thouſand out of Staffordſhire, and four thouſand out of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, under the command of Colonel Birch, joined with Lambert and Harriſon. Lord Fairfax drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were ſtrictly enjoined by the parliament to ſet out horſe and men at their own charges. An act was alſo publiſhed, wherein it was declared, "That no perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to hold any correſpondence with Charles Stuart, or with his party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or aſſiſt, any of them; nor voluntarily afford, or cauſe to be afforded or delivered unto them, any victuals, proviſions, ammunition, arms, horſes, plate, money, men, or any other relief whatſoever, under pain of high-treaſon: and that all perſons ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to hinder and ſtop their march."

Cromwell, being now ready to march into England, endeavoured to ſettle the affairs of Scotland in ſuch a poſture, as effectually to ſecure what was already obtained; and gave all the neceſſary orders to Lieutenant-general Monk, whom he reſolved to leave behind him with a ſtrong party of foot and horſe, to quell any forces which ſhould riſe after his departure. This done, the victorious Cromwell, with the remainder of the army, marched out of Scotland, and on the 12th of Auguſt croſſed the Tine. The mayor of Newcaſtle, underſtanding

underſtanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the reſt of the magiſtrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in England; and, that they might be the more welcome to the ſoldiers, carried along with them refreſhments for the army. Theſe ſupplies were very ſeaſonable, and enabled the ſoldiers cheerfully to continue their march.

The royaliſts in the mean time by a ſwift march went on in proſecution of their preſent deſign. The king led them through Lancaſhire, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns he paſſed through proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for, beſides that the Scots daily deſerted him, the country did not come in to him as he believed they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which ſpread themſelves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards Warrington on the borders of Cheſhire, the paſſage of which bridge was ſharply conteſted by Lambert and his party, but was at laſt obtained by the king, the Scots, as they fell on, crying out, "Oh you rogues! we will be with you before your Cromwell comes." The king reſolved to continue his march with the ſame expedition as he had uſed hitherto, till they ſhould come to ſuch a poſt where they might ſecurely reſt themſelves; which the poor ſoldiers very much deſired, being extremely fatigued with the length of their march, and the heat of the ſeaſon. His majeſty, hoping the intereſt that Major-general Maſſey had in Gloceſterſhire would draw a great many in to him from thoſe parts, reſolved to direct his march that way. At laſt, looking upon Worceſter as a proper place, he determined to ſettle there with his army; and accordingingly, on the 23d day of Auguſt, he entered that city with very little oppoſition; where he reſolved to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and, that he might not be wanting in any thing that might tend to

the preſervation of himſelf and forces, he ordered works to be raiſed for better ſecurity. Then he ſent a ſummons to Colonel Mackworth governor of Shrewſbury, inviting him to yield up that garriſon to him; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raiſe forces for him in Montgomeryſhire; but Sir Thomas detained the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in Worceſter, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the Earl of Derby. This brave man was the only perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horſe; but, before he could join the king's army, Colonel Lilburn ſet upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf, being wounded, retreated into Cheſhire, with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at Worceſter.

In the mean time Cromwell, having refreſhed his ſoldiers near Newcaſtle, marched away by Rippon, Ferrybridge, Doncaſter, Mansfield, and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the reſt of the parliament's forces under Fleetwood, Deſborough, Lord Grey of Groby, Lambert, and Harriſon; making in all about thirty thouſand men. The common-wealth had indeed by their new levies encreaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort a time; for the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces newly raiſed by act of parliament, upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men. Cromwell being come up, and having obſerved the poſture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, ſeven miles from Worceſter, deſigning there, if poſſible, to to paſs over his army. Lambert, who was appointed to this ſervice, immediately detached a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons; this party, coming to the bridge,

found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring fellows paſſed, who, finding the Scots took the alarm, betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon Maſſey, who lay at Upton with about ſixty dragoons, and two hundred horſe, attacked the church in the dark; but Lambert, having in the mean time paſſed over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and, overpowering them, forced them to a retreat; which Maſſey ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometime facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arrived with his men at Worceſter. The bridge being thus gained, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that Fleetwood's army quickly paſſed over; and, ſtill marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile below Worceſter. And Cromwell in the mean time cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his ſide, for the better junction of the army. The Scots drawing out to oppoſe Fleetwood's paſſage, Cromwell reſolved to divert their deſign, or oblige them to fight at great diſadvantage: to which end, himſelf in perſon led over the river two regiments of foot, Colonel Hacker's horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of Worceſter which he deſigned to attack. Whilſt this was doing, Fleetwood, aſſiſted by two regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined with muſqueteers, judging that to be the ſafeſt way. And indeed they ſtoutly maintained their ground till three other regiments came in and joined with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by Colonels Hains, Cobbet, and Matthews; and thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into Worceſter.

Preſently after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage Cromwell himſelf. Accordingly,

ingly, they on a ſudden ſallied out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party: but, multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turned the ſcale on Cromwell's ſide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the Scots, being overpowered by Cromwell's ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſued by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew through all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter. As ſoon as Cromwell had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilſt this party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by Colonel Drummond; and, being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventured his perſon through whole ſhowers of ſhot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced it by force, and put them all to the ſword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them. The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about four thouſand, and the priſoners taken in the fight and in the purſuit amounted to about ten thouſand; ſo that near all were loſt. The chief of the priſoners were Duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke), who died ſoon after of his wounds; the Earl of Derby, who not long after was ſentenced to death, and loſt his head at Bolton; the Earls of Lauderdale, Carnwath, Rothes, and Kelley; the Lord Sinclare, Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, Major-generals Mont-

gomery and Piſcotty, Mr. Richard Fanſhaw ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty eight colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other things of great value.

The king eſcaped, and now entered upon a ſcene of adventures the moſt romantic that can be imagined. After his hair was cut off, the better to diſguiſe his perſon, he worked for ſome days in the habit of a peaſant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was ſincerely attached to his cauſe. In this attempt, however, he was diſappointed; every paſs being guarded to prevent their eſcape. Being obliged to return, he met one Colonel Careleſs, who had eſcaped the carnage at Worceſter. In his company the king was obliged to climb a ſpreading oak; among the thick branches of which they ſpent the day together, while they heard the ſoldiers of the enemy in purſuit of them below. From thence he paſſed with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the houſe of Colonel Lane, a zealous royaliſt in Staffordſhire. There he deliberated about the means of eſcaping into France; and Briſtol being ſuppoſed the propereſt port, it was reſolved that he ſhould ride thither before this gentleman's ſiſter, on a viſit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey, he every day met with perſons whoſe faces he knew, and at one time paſſed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army. When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the firſt perſon they ſaw was one of his own chaplains ſitting at the door, and amuſing himſelf with ſeeing people play at bowls. The king, after taking proper care of his horſe in the ſtable, was ſhewn to an apartment which Mrs. Lane had provided for him,

him, as it was ſaid he had the ague. The butler, however, being ſent to him with ſome refreſhment, no ſooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and maſter; and, falling on his knees, while the tears ſtreamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to ſee your majeſty." The king was alarmed; but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter: and the honeſt ſervant punctually obeyed him.

No ſhip being found that would for a month ſet ſail from Briſtol either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He therefore repaired to the houſe of Colonel Wyndham in Dorſetſhire, where he was cordially received. His mother, a venerable matron, ſeemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expreſſed no diſſatisfaction at having loſt three ſons and one grandchild in the defence of his cauſe, ſince ſhe was honoured in being inſtrumental in his own preſervation.---Purſuing from thence his journey to the ſea ſide, he once more had a very narrow eſcape at a little inn, where he ſet up for the night. The day had been appointed for a ſolemn faſt; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a ſoldier in the parliamentary army, was preaching againſt the king in a little chapel fronting the houſe. Charles, to avoid ſuſpicion, was himſelf among the audience. It happened that a ſmith, of the ſame principles with the weaver, had been examining the horſes belonging to the paſſengers, and came to aſſure the preacher, that he knew, by the faſhion of the ſhoes, that one of the ſtrangers horſes came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed, that this horſe could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and inſtantly went with a conſtable to ſearch the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and left the inn before the conſtable's arrival. At Shoreham, in Suſſex, a veſſel was

at laſt found, in which he embarked. He was known to ſo many, that if he had not ſet ſail at that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. After forty-one days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſchamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his eſcape.

Cromwell in the mean time having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at Worceſter than to ſee the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth, thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to ſecure any enemy for the future. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thouſand priſoners like ſheep before him. After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many worthy atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices to the commonwealth. On the ſame day, he with his chief officers, was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp: and ſoon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving-day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewiſe ſettled four thouſand pounds a year upon him, out of the eſtates of the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Worceſter, beſides two thouſand five hundred pounds per ann. formerly granted.

Soon after the battle of Worceſter, the Iſle of Man, bravely defended by the heroic Counteſs of Derby; and the Iſle of Jerſey, that had been long maintained by Sir George Carteret; were both reduced to the parliament's obedience. They had long ſince been maſters

maſters of Guernſey, except the chief fort, called Cornet-caſtle, which had been a great while defended by the governor, but was about the latter end of October ſurrendered upon very honourable terms. And the Scilly iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduced by part of the parliament's fleet.

Major-general Monk, whom Cromwell had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight at Worceſter, he took Sterling, the chief ſtrength of the Scots; as alſo Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had uſed before at Droghedа; and ſurprized a convention of the Scottiſh nobility, among whom was old General Leſley, and ſent them priſoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occaſioned ſuch a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter, caſtles, with other towns, caſtles, and ſtrong holds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or ſurrendered upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by Colonel Morgan: ſo that the Engliſh extended their conqueſts through all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, which now ſubmitted to them.

Notwithſtanding the late wars and bloodſhed, as well as the preſent factions, the power of England had never, at any period, appeared ſo formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms, as it did at this time, in the hands of the common-wealth. A numerous army ſerved to enforce implicit ſubjection to eſtabliſhed authority on all parties, and to ſtrike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the ſame hands with that of impoſing taxes; and no difference of views among the ſeveral members of the legiſlature could any longer be apprehended. The

military

military genius of the people, had, by the civil conteſts, been rouſed from its former lethargy, and excellent officers were formed in every branch of ſervice. The confuſion into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity for men of low ſtations to break through their obſcurity, and to advance themſelves, by their courage, to commands, which they were all well qualified to exerciſe, but to which their birth could never have entitled them.

Blake, a man of undaunted courage, and great generoſity, had defended Lyme and Taunton againſt the king with an inflexible ſpirit: this man was now created an admiral, although his experience was entirely confined to land-ſervice, and even in that he had not entered until he was almoſt fifty years of age. Notwithſtanding theſe apparently inſurmountable diſadvantages, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. He took the command of a fleet which was deſtined to go in ſearch of Prince Rupert, who ſtill held the command of that ſquadron which had deſerted to the king. The prince had taken refuge in the harbour of Kinſale, but, thinking himſelf inſecure there, made the beſt of his way to the coaſt of Portugal. Blake hung cloſe upon his rear, and chaſed him into the Tagus, where, although within ſight of Liſbon, he was preparing to attack him; but the remonſtrances of his Portugueſe majeſty at length prevailed on him to deſiſt. Prince Rupert at length eſcaped, through the aſſiſtance given him by the king, who however was made to ſuffer ſeverely for this inſtance of partiality; for the Engliſh admiral, as a retaliation, made prize of twenty Portugueſe veſſels richly laden, and threatened yet farther vengeance. John IV. dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the inequality of the conteſt in which he was engaged, made humiliating conceſſions to avert the danger that threatened

threatened him, whereupon he was admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England.

Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, directed his courſe to the Weſt-Indies; and there his brother, Prince Maurice, was ſhipwrecked in a hurricane. With the few ſhips that remained of his ſquadron, he committed depredations on the commerce of Spain, as well as on that of the republic; and at length he returned to France, where he ſold his prizes, together with the ſhips that remained of his fleet.

Of all the infant ſettlements in America, New-England alone, which was inhabited entirely by puritans, acknowledged the authority of the common-wealth. Sir George Ayſcue was therefore ſent with a fleet to reduce all ſuch as adhered to the exiled ſovereign. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were ſoon ſubdued; Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance, but was ſoon obliged to ſubmit.

The parliament ſhewed their attention to the commercial intereſts of their country, by paſſing what is called the navigation act, whereby they prohibited all merchandize being imported into England, either from Aſia, Africa, or America, (including our own plantations,) in any but Engliſh-built ſhips, and belonging either to Engliſh or Engliſh-plantation ſubjects; alſo navigated by an Engliſh commander, and having three-fourths of the ſailors natives of Great-Britain: excepting only ſuch merchandize as ſhould be imported directly from the place of its growth, or manufacture, in Europe ſolely. Likewiſe all fiſh was prohibited being imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, or even from one of our own home-parts to another, except ſuch as was caught by Engliſh fiſhermen. This firſt general navigation-act was particularly calculated to check the progreſs of the Dutch trade, who, at that time, were the ſole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to ano-

ther; but hereby the greateſt part of their imports into England was cut off. Until this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleaſed, and in any ſhipping; but no ſooner was this reſtriction laid, than the Engliſh ſearched the Dutch ſhips, and frequently made prize of them: hereupon the ſtates-general ſent over four ambaſſadors to England, to repreſent their grievances to parliament, and to Cromwell, who, in their turn, made five ſeveral demands on the ſtates, viz. 1. The arrears of the tribute due for their fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts. 2. The reſtoration of the Spice Iſlands to England. 3. For bringing to juſtice ſuch as were ſtill alive, who committed the cruelties at Amboyna and Banda. 4. Satisfaction for the murder of their envoy Doriſlaus, who had been killed by ſome Scots officers at the Hague. 5. Reparation for the damages which England had ſuſtained from the Dutch in Ruſſia, Greenland, &c. amounting to the capital ſum of one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This navigation-act therefore greatly contributed to bring on the fierce naval war which broke out in the year 1652. Theſe five demands were made with ſo much peremptorineſs, as convinced the ſtates that it was time to prepare for a war with England. They equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, and took care, by their miniſters in London, to inform the council of ſtate of that armament. This intelligence, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the new republic, was conſidered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hoſtile reſolutions. The minds of men in both commonwealths were every day more irritated againſt each other; and the Engliſh parliament, moſt probably, thought a foreign war an effectual expedient for uniting the contending factions at home.

The firſt blood that was drawn in this quarrel was occaſioned by commodore Young firing upon a Dutch man of war who refuſed him the honour of the flag.

The

The commander acted with great caution, and gave the other every opportunity of avoiding a diſpute. But the Dutch captain, having poſitive orders from the ſtates not to pay the honour which the Engliſh exacted from their ſhips in the Channel, peremptorily refuſed to comply: the Engliſh commodore hereupon fired on the Dutchman, when a ſharp engagement began, in which the Hollanders were ſo roughly handled, as to be obliged to ſtrike. There were two other ſhips of war, and about twelve merchant-men, none of whom interpoſed; and, after the Dutch ſhips had lowered their flags, the commodore retired without making any prizes.

Admiral Blake, on his return from his expedition againſt Prince Rupert's fleet, received the thanks of parliament for his gallant ſervices, and was appointed, in conjunction with Dean and Popham, to the chief command at ſea.

Martin Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, having had the command of that fleet which gained the memorable victory over the Spaniards in the year 1639, was now appointed by the ſtates of Holland, to the command of a fleet of forty ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the Engliſh privateers. He was forced, by ſtreſs of weather, as he alleged, to take ſhelter in the Downs. On the 18th of May, 1652, this fleet fell in with a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of Major Bourne, whom Van Tromp informed, that ſtreſs of weather had driven him into thoſe parts. The Engliſh officer bluntly anſwered, that the ſhortneſs of his ſtay would beſt prove the truth of thoſe pretenſions; and immediately acquainted his admiral, Blake, who lay off Dover, with the tranſaction. The next day Van Tromp bore down with his fleet upon Blake, whoſe force conſiſted of fifteen ſhips. On their approach without paying the honour of the flag to the Engliſh, Blake ordered ſeveral cannon, without ſhot, to be fired; Tromp paid no

regard to these warnings, and Blake no sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The engagement immediately began with great fury. At the first onset the English admiral's ship sustained almost the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, but the rest of his fleet, gradually coming into the action, supported their admiral with great bravery. The engagement continued very sharply from four in the afternoon till nine at night; and, before the close of it, Commodore Bourne came in with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away towards the Goodwin Sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was taken, and the other sunk. The victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost no ship, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers was very great.

On the news of this action arriving in Holland, the states were thrown into a violent consternation, and immediately dispatched Pensionary de Paauw, as their ambassador extraordinary to the common-wealth of England, and ordered him to lay before the council the narrative which Tromp had sent of the rencounter. They entreated the English, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and point out the aggressor. They disclaimed giving Tromp any orders which could authorize him to attack the English, and denounced severe punishment upon him, if he was found to have behaved in a manner which the states so much discountenanced; but the demands of the parliament were too high to be brought to square with any concessions which the Dutch might have been willing to make, so that the negotiation soon broke off, and war was declared in Holland on the 8th day of July following.

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The parliament indeed had never loſt a day in treaty. In order to enforce their act of navigation, and by way of repriſal for the inſults and injuries they had received from the republic of Holland, Blake was very active in the Channel in picking up their merchantmen. Eleven ſhips, bound from Nantes, fell into his hands a fortnight after the action with Van Tromp. About the ſame time, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two Engliſh frigates, engaged two Dutch men of war on the coaſt of Flanders, who refuſed to lower their flag; one of theſe was taken, and the other ſtranded: a few days after Blake took twenty-ſix merchant-ſhips, homeward bound from France. So that, in the month of July, this indefatigable commander ſent forty rich prizes into the river Thames, which did incredible miſchief to the Dutch trade.

Sir George Ayſcue being now returned from the Weſt-Indies, the command in the Channel was entruſted to him, while Blake ſailed northwards to annoy the Dutch in their herring-fiſhery; and, by ſtriking a deciſive ſtroke at that ſtaple branch of their commerce, to convince them of their folly in diſputing the ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas with the Engliſh. Early in July he arrived in thoſe parts, where he found a great number of Dutch fiſhing-veſſels, under the protection of twelve men of war. This convoy was immediately attacked; they fought bravely for ſome time, but were at length obliged to ſurrender, only one eſcaping, who choſe to ſecure his ſafety by an early flight. True valour is ever generous to a proſtrate foe; the fiſhing-buſſes being now left defenceleſs, Blake neither ſunk nor took them, but permitted them to complete their ladings, on paying the tax of the tenth herring, which King Charles had impoſed ſome years before: ſuch only as refuſed to comply with theſe equitable conditions, were either ſunk or driven aſhore. The Dutch themſelves were grateful for this ſignal act of moderation,

tion, and we do not find that the Engliſh parliament diſapproved it.

In the mean time Vice-admiral Ayſcue was not idle on his ſtation; he fell in with a fleet of ſhips bound from St. Ubes, or Setubal, a ſea-port of Portugal, conſiſting of forty ſail, and either took, burnt, ſtranded, or plundered, near thirty of them, on the coaſt of France.

While Blake was triumphing in the north, Van Tromp, with a fleet of ſeventy men of war appeared at the mouth of the Thames, with a deſign to cut off the ſquadron under Ayſcue, or to make a deſcent on the coaſt; but he was fruſtrated in both theſe views. Hereupon he ſailed northward to intercept Blake; but, his ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, he was diſappointed in that object likewiſe, and returned into port without effecting any thing, and with the loſs of five frigates, which, being ſeparated in the ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, were taken by Blake on his return home.

This miſcarriage of the grand fleet ſpread diſcontents among the Dutch, and popular clamour ran ſo high againſt Van Tromp, that he was induced to throw up his commiſſion. De Ruyter, ſucceeding him in command, immediately put to ſea; and on the 16th of Auguſt came up with Sir George Ayſcue's fleet off Plymouth. The fight began about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Engliſh admiral, with nine other ſhips, charged through the Dutch fleet, and, having thereby gained the weather-gage, turned upon them with great bravery. Night parted the combatants when the battle had become deſperate. The next morning Ruyter made the beſt of his way for his own coaſt, his fleet having been very roughly handled, inſomuch that ſome of his beſt ſhips were ſcarcely able to keep afloat. The force of the two fleets was not greatly diſproportionate in ſhips of war, but the Dutch admiral ſtrengthened himſelf by bringing twenty of the merchant-ſhips, which he convoyed, into the line of battle. On the

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ſide of the Engliſh, the whole weight of the action reſted on ten ſhips, the reſt of the fleet not properly ſupporting their admiral; the Rear-admiral Peck loſt his leg, of which wound he ſoon after died; moſt of the captains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ſhip was loſt. The Engliſh admiral followed the Dutch fleet for ſome time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth Sound to refreſh his men and refit his ſhips.

The war was not long confined to the coaſts of Britain; in the Mediterranean the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked Commodore Badily, who, with three men of war and a fire-ſhip, was convoying homeward-bound merchantmen from the Levant. The firſt day's fight began in the afternoon, off the Iſland of Elba, near the coaſt of Tuſcany, and continued till night, with little advantage to either party. In the night the Engliſh merchant-ſhips left the men of war, and ſet all their ſails for the harbour of Porto-Longone, in the Iſle of Elba. The next morning the battle was renewed with great fury. Van Galen began a cloſe engagement with the Engliſh commodore, but being diſabled in his rigging, and having received three ſhots between wind and water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced to deſiſt; another of the enemy's largeſt ſhips, renewing the attack, had her main-maſt ſhot away, and was boarded by the Phœnix frigate: a dreadful carnage enſued, but the bravery of the Engliſh was not ſufficient to ſupport their temerity; moſt of the ſeamen were either killed or wounded, and at length the ſhip was taken. In the mean time the commodore's ſhip was attacked, and boarded, by two Dutch ſhips at the ſame time; but, far from ſinking under this unequal conflict, he continued to defend himſelf with ſuch firmneſs, that the Dutch hiſtorians themſelves confeſs, that their ſhips were both beaten off, with the loſs of their captains, and a dreadful ſlaughter of their men.

The Engliſh commander contenting himſelf with the glory of this atchievement, having loſt a great number of his men, followed the merchant-ſhips into port, leaving the Hollanders the empty boaſt of a ruinous victory. Soon after, the Dutch ſhips repaired to the ſame harbour, to recover from the ſhattered condition to which they were reduced. Whilſt in this neutral port, the animoſity between the crews of the two ſquadrons was laid aſide, and no inſults were offered by either ſo long as they remained on-ſhore.

At the ſame time Commodore Appleton, with another ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, was lying in the road of Leghorn, where ſome of the Dutch ſhips had repaired after the action with Badily, and had brought in their prize, the Phœnix frigate, the command of which had been given to Captain Van Tromp, whoſe ſhip had been quite diſabled in that deſperate fight. Whilſt in this ſituation, a deſign was formed by an Engliſhman, named Cox, who had formerly been lieutenant on-board the Phœnix frigate, to ſeize her in the harbour, and carry her off. This was attempted on the night of the 26th of November, with ſuch ſecreſy, that no alarm was given to the Dutch on-board, until they found themſelves incapable of making any reſiſtance. The Grand Duke of Tuſcany very juſtly conſidered this ſeizure of a frigate in harbour, as a breach of that neutrality which he was bound to maintain, whilſt the ſhips of the two republics remained there; he therefore inſiſted that the Engliſh ſhould either reſtore her, or quit the port. To venture out to ſea, whilſt Van Galen with ſixteen men of war, a fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout merchantmen, was cruiſing to intercept them, was a deſperate ſtep; but, as there was no other alternative but that of giving up the frigate, the former was choſen; for, though it was the moſt dangerous, it was the moſt honourable.

No ſooner was this reſolution formed, than Commodore Badily, who ſtill lay at Elba with his ſmall force,

force, was apprized of it; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Badily ſhould appear before Leghorn, and, by engaging the Dutch fleet in a chaſe of him, give Appleton's ſquadron an opportunity of putting to ſea. This ſtratagem was put in execution, and produced the conſequences which might have been foreſeen; for Van Galen diſpatched a part of his fleet after Badily, whilſt, with his chief force, he waited to attack Appleton as ſoon as he ſhould be out at ſea. Nine Dutch men of war were now oppoſed to ſix Engliſh, which odds were increaſed by a random ſhot from Van Galen's ſhip ſetting fire to the Bonaventure of forty-four guns, and blowing it up; at the ſame time a ſhot from that ſhip broke the Dutch admiral's leg; of which wound he died three weeks after, at Leghorn. The Engliſh commodore was then attacked by two of the Hollanders at the ſame time, againſt whom he maintained a cloſe fight for five hours, with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, as almoſt to ſilence the two ſhips. Van Galen, obſerving the undaunted ſpirit of the Engliſh commander, deſperately wounded as he was, directed his ſhip to fall down to the aſſiſtance of his friends: in his progreſs he was in imminent danger from a fireſhip ſent off from Badily's ſquadron, and which obliged him to deſiſt from his purpoſe; ſo that he was deprived of the glory of deciding the fortune of the day; but, another ſhip coming to the aſſiſtance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, the attack was renewed with vigour. Some Dutch writers relate, that the Engliſh commander, finding himſelf preſſed by ſuch unequal numbers, attempted to blow up his ſhip; but in this deſperate deſign he was oppoſed by his officers and the crew, ſo that he was obliged to yield. Young Van Tromp attacked the Sampſon, but was beaten off after an obſtinate conteſt, though ſoon after ſhe was burnt by a fireſhip. The Levant merchant alſo not only beat off a ſhip that encountered her, but ſtranded it; after which ſhe was

herſelf taken; as alſo the Pilgrim, having loſt her main and mizen-maſts in the fight. The only remaining Engliſh ſhip of the ſix that ſailed out of Leghorn, was the Mary, who diſengaged herſelf from the enemy, and joined Badily's ſquadron, which had kept aloof during the engagement. To return now to the tranſactions nearer home.

After his expedition northward, Blake cruiſed in the Channel, where he greatly annoyed the Dutch in their trade; and, the French having committed ſome hoſtilities on the banks of Newfoundland, this dauntleſs chieftain attacked a ſtrong ſquadron of their ſhips, as they were paſſing to the relief of Dunkirk, all of which he either took or deſtroyed; by which means that important fortreſs fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding which the French were not diſpoſed to retaliate; but, on the contrary, ſought the re-eſtabliſhment of friendſhip between them and the commonwealth.

Soon after, Blake fell in with the grand fleet of Holland, off the North Foreland, which was commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter. Blake divided his fleet into three ſquadrons; the firſt of which he commanded in perſon; the ſecnnd was under Vice-admiral Penn; and the third under Rear-admiral Bourne. On the 28th of September, about three in the afternoon, the engagement began. The Dutch were ſheltered behind a ſand-bank, and in the attack many of the Engliſh ſhips ran aground, ſo that they were obliged to deſiſt, until De Witt, quitting his retreat, bravely invited an action. The Engliſh rear-admiral firſt began the onſet, and was gallantly ſeconded by the whole fleet. A Dutch man of war attempting to board the Sovereign, was inſtantly ſunk by the firſt broadſide which ſhe diſcharged; two other Dutch men of war were ſunk, and a fourth blown up during the fight. Their rear-admiral and two of their captains were made priſoners. De Witt was hereupon glad to retire, and in his flight

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was followed by the Engliſh fleet, till night intervened; and the next day the chaſe was continued quite to the harbours of Holland. Blake then returned in triumph to the Downs, and from thence into port, having had about three hundred men killed, and as many wounded; to the accommodation of the latter of whom the parliament paid particular attention: they likewiſe ſent their thanks to the admiral and his officers.

The naval operations of this active year were not ſuſpended by the approach of winter. In the beginning of November, Blake indeed thought that the ſeaſon of action was over, and therefore detached twenty ſail of his ſhips to protect the colliery from Newcaſtle; he ſent twelve more to Plymouth, and fifteen ſailed up the Thames, to repair the damage they had received in a ſtorm; he himſelf ſtill riding in the Downs with about thirty-ſeven ſhips. Van Tromp, who was again inveſted with the chief command, having intelligence of the reduced ſtate of the Engliſh fleet, put to ſea with ſeventy-ſeven ſhips of war, in order to attack it. On the 29th of November he came in ſight, in the place where the firſt battle had been fought. Blake, after holding a council of war, reſolved not to decline the combat, notwithſtanding the great inequality of the two fleets; but a ſtorm ariſing, they were obliged to defer fighting till the next day. Early in the morning the battle began with great fury. Blake in the Triumph, with his ſeconds, the Victory and the Vanguard, were, for a long time, engaged with near twenty of the enemy, the ſuperiority of whoſe force had well nigh borne down the admiral, but for the ſeaſonable intervention of other ſhips of his ſquadron. On this ſuccour arriving, the fight continued as furious as ever; and, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, remained doubtful for many hours. The Garland and Bonaventure, commanded by Akſon and Batten, bore down to Van Tromp's ſhip, and with an

unparallelled intrepidity boarded her. The Dutch vice-admiral, Evertzen, ſeeing the danger to which his commander was expoſed, haſtened to his ſupport, and thereby reſcued him from his aſſailants, but not before great havock had been made among the Dutch; the admiral's ſecretary and purſer were killed by his ſide. Among the Engliſh, moſt of the brave fellows that made this bold attempt were cut to-pieces, and their two ſhips were at length taken. Theſe were the only ſhips that fell into the hands of the Dutch, during this well-fought but unfortunate action; but three other ſhips were ſunk. At length night parted the combatants. The gallant Blake, thinking he had fully maintained the nation's honour, and his own, by engaging an enemy ſo ſuperior, and coming off with ſo little loſs, retired to the river. The Dutch exulted beyond meaſure at this inconſiderable advantage; and ſuch was the ſilly vanity of their admiral, that he is ſaid to have paſſed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-maſt head, as it were, to ſweep the ſea of the Engliſh; but this triumph, ſo vauntingly diſplayed, was to be very ſhort-lived.

All the homeward-bound trade of Holland was appointed to rendezvous at the Iſle of Rhe, in the Bay of Biſcay; thither Van Tromp and De Ruyter (who was now the ſecond in command) with their formidable and victorious fleet, repaired to eſcort them home.

The Engliſh parliament was impatient to wipe off the diſgrace which their arms had ſuſtained by this check: they collected their naval force from all quarters, which, when brought together, outnumbered that which was led by Van Tromp. At the requeſt of Blake they ſent for General Monk from Scotland to join in the command; and Deane was rear-admiral. Such was the expedition uſed in forwarding this armament, that they ſailed down the Channel before Van Tromp could return from the Bay. The Dutch admiral was ſurprized to ſee ſo powerful an enemy drawn

up to receive him off Portland. He had seventy-six men of war, and was escorting about three hundred merchant-ships. By break of day, on the 18th of February 1653, the English descried the Dutch fleet steering along the coast of France, near Cape La Hogue, and immediately bore down to give them battle. The fight which ensued was the most furious that had been fought between these warlike and rival republics. The Admirals Blake and Deane were both on-board the Triumph, which, with twelve other ships, first began the engagement about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the Fairfax, and Captain Mildmay in the Vanguard. Almost at the first onset, Blake received a wound in the thigh; and his captain Ball, and his secretary Sparrow, were both slain by his side: great numbers of his seamen were killed, and scarcely any remained without a wound; the ship too was so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the fight of the two following days. The brave Captain Mildmay, in the Vanguard, (who had boldly attacked and taken the Dutch vice-admiral in a former action,) was slain. The Prosperous, of forty-four guns, was boarded by De Ruyter, and taken; but, while he himself was near incurring the same fate, she was retaken by the Merlin frigate. Van Tromp's own ship was long engaged with Blake; great destruction was made among his officers and seamen, and his ship was greatly disabled. One Dutch man of war was blown up, six more were either sunk or taken. Such as fell into the hands of the English had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that no one could look upon them without horror.

The ensuing night was spent in repairing the damages which had been sustained on each side, and in preparations for renewing the fight the next morning. Returning light discovered the enemy seven leagues

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off Weymouth, whither the Engliſh plied, and came up with them in the afternoon, about three leagues to the ſouth-weſt of the Iſle of Wight. Van Tromp had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of a creſcent, incloſing the merchant-ſhips within a ſemicircle, and in that poſition he maintained a retreating fight towards the French coaſts. The Engliſh made ſeveral bold and hazardous attempts to break through the merchantmen; in one of which De Ruyter's ſhip was again ſo roughly ſaluted, that ſhe was obliged to be towed out of the line: Captain Lawſon at the ſame time, boarded one of the Dutch men of war, and brought her off. At length the merchant-ſhips finding their convoy no longer in a condition to protect them, began to ſhift for themſelves, and, for the greater expedition, threw a conſiderable part of their cargo overboard. Eight Dutch men of war, and fourteen or ſixteen merchant-ſhips, fell into the hands of the Engliſh in this day's action. Night, which in the engagement in the Downs had befriended Blake, now rendered the like ſervice to the haraſſed Dutch; but ſkirmiſhes happened from the cloſe of the day to the return of it.

The next morning the Dutch were near Boulogne, with the Engliſh cloſe at their heels. The fight was ſoon renewed, and laſted, with great fury and bravery on both ſides, till four in the afternoon, when the former retreated to the Sands before Calais; and from thence tided it home, the wind favouring them, and the Engliſh being fearful of venturing on thoſe ſhallow coaſts. In this purſuit three Dutch men of war were taken by the Captains Lawſon, Marten, and Graver; and Penn picked up ſeveral merchantmen. The Dutch loſt, in theſe three days actions, eleven ſhips of war, and thirty merchant-ſhips. Fifteen hundred of their men were killed, and a great number made priſoners. On the ſide of the Engliſh only one ſhip was loſt, the Sampſon, which her captain finding diſabled, ſunk; but their loſs of men was little inferior to the Dutch.

Dutch. In this action Blake availed himself very much of a large body of soldiers, who acted in quality of marines, and whose small arms did great execution.

By this time the states-general had incurred such enormous debts for the maintenance of the war, and their trade had suffered so severely by the English, that nothing but dejection and murmurs were to be met with in Holland. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much molested by the English privateers; their fisheries were totally at a stand. Above sixteen hundred of their ships had been taken; and all this distress they suffered not to further any national interests, but by contending about mere points of honour: they therefore thought proper to make new concessions to the parliament. But, before this negociation could be set on foot, a strange revolution happened in England.

Cromwell and his officers, in order to bring about their designs, were now daily complaining of the grievances from the long parliament, and seemed very zealous upon the common pretences of right and justice, and public liberty, to put a period to their session; "Which if they would not shortly do themselves, the army and people must do it for them."

The parliament being very sensible of these proceedings, a great debate arose thereupon in the house; where several of the members, out of justice, reason, or a foreseen necessity, appeared to be for a dissolution, and a new representative chosen; but in the end it was declared, that the dissolution of the parliament was too high a matter for any private person to meddle with. Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had so long enjoyed, on the 19th of April, held a consultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in Whitehall, to consider of some expedient for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament.

ment. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and Commiſſioner Whitlock, declared what a dangerous thing it was to diſſolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: but the general and moſt of his officers with ſeveral members of the houſe, delivered their opinion, "That it was neceſſary to take ſome new meaſures, and that it was not fit that the preſent aſſembly of parliament ſhould be permitted to prolong their own power." The conference laſted till late at night, when, without coming to any concluſion, the meeting was adjourned to the next morning. Moſt of them being then again met, the point in debate was, "Whether forty perſons, or about that number, of parliament-men and officers of the army, ſhould be nominated by the parliament, and impowered for managing the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament ſhould meet, and ſo the preſent parliament be forthwith diſſolved." The lord-general being informed, during this debate, that the parliament was ſitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themſelves, which would be the moſt honourable diſſolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him left him at his lodgings and went to the houſe; where, contrary to their expectation, inſtead of coming to any reſolutions of immediately diſſolving themſelves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the preſent parliament was to be continued above a year and a half longer, and then to be diſſolved. Colonel Ingoldſby came back to the general, and informed him what the houſe was upon: at which the general, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs, but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting without any more delay, was ſo enraged, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers (to the number of three hundred), with which marching directly to Weſtminſter, he placed ſome

ſome of them at the door, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs. Himſelf, going into the houſe, firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, "That he came to do that which grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed to God againſt: nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: but that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." Then he ſat down and heard their debates for ſome time on the forementioned act: after which, calling to Major-general Harriſon, who was on the other ſide of the houſe, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged the parliament ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it." Harriſon anſwered, "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it." "You ſay well," replied the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then, the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is the time; I muſt do it." And ſo, ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bade the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe, "That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good: that ſome of them were whoremaſters, (looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit that they ſhould ſit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away. He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the public good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of preſbytery and the lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion; and accuſed them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power." When ſome of the members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating:" then, walk-

ing up and down the houſe, he cried out, " You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament;" and, ſtamping with his feet, he bade them, " for ſhame be gone, and give place to honeſter men." Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered the houſe, and he bade one of them, " Take away that bauble," meaning the mace; and, Harriſon taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as Ludlow informs us) the general, addreſſing himſelf again to the members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, " It is you that have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon doing this work." And, then ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſee the houſe cleared of all members; and, having cauſed the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall. " Thus, as Whitelock obſerves, it pleaſed God, that this aſſembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions, and ſucceſſes, having ſubdued all their enemies, were themſelves overthrown and ruined by their ſervants; and thoſe whom they had raiſed now pulled down their maſters: an example never to be forgotten, and ſcarcely to be parallelled in any ſtory! By which all perſons may be inſtructed, how uncertain and ſubject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them the higheſt."

Thus the whole civil and military power centered in Cromwell, who by this bold tranſaction became, in effect, King of Great Britain, with uncontroulable authority. Being willing, however, to amuſe the people with the form of commonwealth, he propoſed to give his ſubjects a parliament; but ſuch an one as ſhould be altogether obedient to his commands. For this purpoſe it was decreed, that the ſovereign power ſhould be veſted in one hundred and forty-four perſons, under the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook to make the choice himſelf. The perſons pitched upon were the loweſt, meaneſt, and moſt ignorant,

rant, among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. To go farther than others in the abſurdities of fanaticiſm was the chief qualification on which each of theſe valued himſelf. Their very names, borrowed from ſcripture, and rendered ridiculous by their miſapplication, ſerved to ſhew their exceſs of folly. One of them particularly, who was called Praiſe God Barebones, a canting leatherſeller, gave his name to this odd aſſembly, and it was called Barebones Parliament. They were chiefly compoſed of antinomians; a ſect that, after receiving the ſpirit, ſuppoſed themſelves incapable of error; and the fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Chriſt's ſecond coming on earth. They began by chooſing eight of their tribe to ſeek Lord in prayer, while the reſt calmly ſat down to deliberate upon the ſuppreſſion of the clergy, the univerſities, and courts of juſtice; and, inſtead of all this, it was their intent to ſubſtitute the law of Moſes.

It was impoſſible ſuch a legiſlation as this could ſtand; even the vulgar began to exclaim againſt it, and Cromwell himſelf to be aſhamed of their abſurdities. He had carefully choſen many perſons among them who were entirely devoted to his intereſts and theſe he commanded to diſmiſs the aſſembly. Theſe accordingly met by concert earlier than the reſt of their fraternity; and, obſerving to each other that this parliament had ſat long enough, they haſtened to Cromwell, with Rouſe their ſpeaker at their head, and into his hand reſigned the authority with which he had inveſted them. Cromwell accepted their reſignation with pleaſure: but, being told that ſome of their number were refractory, he ſent Colonel White to clear the houſe of ſuch as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by the time that the colonel had arrived; and he being aſked by the colonel, What they did there? Moyer replied very gravely, That they were ſeeking the Lord. "Then you may go elſe-

where (cried White); for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord hath not been here for theſe many years."

The ſhadow of a parliament being thus diſſolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. The mayor and aldermen were ſent for to give ſolemnity to his appointment, and he was inſtituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addreſſed by the title of highneſs; and his power was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. It was now, indeed, in a great meaſure neceſſary that ſome perſon ſhould take the ſupreme command; for affairs were brought into ſuch a ſituation, by the furious animoſities of the contending parties, that nothing but abſolute power could prevent a renewal of former bloodſhed and confuſion. The government of the kingdom was adjuſted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen, perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in caſe of vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth, with ſuch powers as the king was poſſeſſed of. The power of the ſword was veſted in him jointly with the parliament when ſitting, or with the council at other times. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament once every three years, and to allow them to ſit five months without adjournment. A ſtanding army was eſtabliſhed of twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. The protector enjoyed his office for life; and on his death, his place was to be ſupplied by the council. Of all theſe clauſes the ſtanding army was ſufficient for Cromwell's purpoſe; for, while poſſeſſed of that inſtrument, he could mould the reſt of the conſtitution to his pleaſure at any time. He choſe his council from among his officers,

who had been the companions of his dangers and victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a-year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care; while his activity, vigilance, and resolution, were so well exerted, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

These innovations in the civil government, however, threw a languor over the naval operations in the spring of 1653, and frustrated the negotiation for a peace, which the States of Holland and Zealand had set on foot, and ardently wished to render effectual. Van Tromp availed himself of this short season, wherein the vigilance of the English was relaxed, to convey a large fleet of merchantmen round by the north, (for the route by the Channel was too dangerous to be attempted,) which he escorted out and home in safety: he then entered the Downs with his men of war, made some prizes, and, to shew his prowess, battered Dover-castle; but he was soon chastised for this vaunt. An English fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships, commanded by Monk and Deane, assisted by Vice-admiral Penn and Captain Lawson, (then made a rear-admiral,) was assembled in Yarmouth Roads. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war and six fire-ships, the commanders of which were Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Evertsens: each power was solicitous to decide the dispute by coming to a general action. No sooner was the Dutch fleet out of the Texel, than the English bore down to engage it. On the 2d of June 1653, the battle began, about eleven o'clock in the morning. One of the first broadsides from the enemy killed the brave Admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, who was on-board the same

ſame ſhip, with great preſence of mind covered his body with a cloak, and, as there was ſtill an admiral to command, no flag was taken down, ſo that the fleet remained ignorant of what had happened, and the fight continued with unabating warmth. The blue ſquadron had charged through the enemy, and Rear-admiral Lawſon laid himſelf along-ſide De Ruyter, to whom, in former actions, he had been a deſperate, and almoſt a ſucceſsful, aſſailant. At this time he had well-nigh taken the Dutch admiral, but being diverted from his prey, he ſunk a ſhip of forty-two guns. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confuſion, and Van Tromp ſaw himſelf obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a ſtout ſhip, commanded by Cornelius Van Velſen, blew up. In the night Blake arrived with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips. The Dutch ſtill retreating towards the coaſt of Flanders, the fight was renewed the next day about noon, off Neuport, in the Auſtrian Netherlands, with greater fury than the day before, and continued very hot for four hours. Vice-admiral Penn twice boarded Tromp's ſhip, and would have taken it, but for the ſupport which it received from De Witt and De Ruyter. The Dutch at length were ſo hotly preſſed on all ſides, that they fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and, being entirely routed, ſought their ſafety among the Flats, from whence, with great difficulty, they reached Zealand. In theſe actions ſix of the beſt ſhips in the Dutch fleet were ſunk, two were blown up, and eleven taken; ſix of their captains were made priſoners, with upwards of fifteen hundred men. Of the ſhips, one bore a vice-admiral's flag, and two thoſe of rear-admirals. On the ſide of the Engliſh not a ſhip was loſt, and very few men were ſlain. This important victory may therefore be ſaid to be purchaſed with the loſs of the brave Admiral Deane, and one captain.

After

After this disaster, Van Tromp, in a memorial to the states-general, set forth, that the ships and guns of the Dutch fleet were too slender to cope with those of the English; and De Ruyter declared, that he would not put to sea again, if his fleet was not reinforced with greater and better ships. In consequence of this important victory, the English fleets lay on the Dutch coasts, and put an entire stop to their trade. The states, impatient of such loss and dishonour, exerted themselves to the utmost to retrieve their affairs. Never, on any occasion, did the power and vigour of that republic appear a more conspicuous light: in a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet, and equipped some ships of a larger size than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Tromp set sail with this force, determined to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the contest. The two fleets were pretty equal in force, and the desire of possessing the sovereignty of the ocean animated both states to a fierce and obstinate conflict. The general engagement began on the 31st of July, and continued eight hours with terrible fury; and, as it was the last, so was it the most fierce, combat during this impetuous war. At the beginning of the action the Dutch fire-ships had well nigh decided the fortune of the day: being managed with great dexterity, many of the largest vessels in the English fleet were in imminent danger of being set on fire; the Triumph had liked to have perished, insomuch that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, but, by the exertions of those that remained on-board, the flames were extinguished. Admiral Lawson attacked De Ruyter with such fury, as to kill or wound above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet; but that brave Dutchman would not be withheld from the scene of action by the disaster of his ship, therefore, going on-board another, he continued to maintain the fight. It is said by Burchet, that Monk, to put a speedy end to the

the war, had iſſued orders to all his captains, neither to give nor to take quarter; ſo that, in a few hours, the air was filled with the fragments of ſhips blown up, and human bodies; and the ſea was dyed with blood. When the fight had continued about ſix hours, Van Tromp, as he was delivering out his orders, was ſhot through the body with a muſket bullet, and inſtantly expired. This ſo damped the ardour of the whole fleet, that it preſently began to give way. At the beginning of the battle the Dutch had five flags flying on-board their fleet, and when they began to retreat only one remainad. By night the ſhattered navy of Holland recovered the Texel. Twenty-ſix of their ſhips were ſunk; five of their captains were taken priſoners, and near five thouſand men were ſlain or drowned. The orders forbidding quarter were not ſtrictly obſerved, for twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the ſea whilſt their ſhips were ſinking. This ſignal victory was purchaſed with conſiderable loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh, four hundred men, and eight captains, periſhed in the fight, and above ſeven thouſand were wounded.

Cromwell gave the moſt effectual orders for the Engliſh navy being repaired, that he might avail himſelf of the conſternation which the death of Tromp, and the defeat of their fleet, had ſpread among the provinces. The parliament which Cromwell had nominated were then ſitting, and immediately voted gold chains to be preſented to the Generals Blake and Monk, Vice-admiral Penn, and Rear-admiral Lawſon; and medals to the captains. The 25th of Auguſt following was appointed for a day of ſolemn thankſgiving; and, Monk being then in London, Cromwell, at a feaſt in the city, himſelf put the chain about his neck, and required him to wear it during the entertainment. Meanwhile the negotiations for a peace were renewed. The united ſtates, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and

and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they experienced to be an overmatch for them. Charles, still acknowledged king of Great Britain by France, signified an inclination to serve on-board the Dutch fleet; but that republic, though they expressed a sense of the honour intended them, declined an offer which tended to foment the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The war, though maintained no more than three years, had been carried on with such activity on both sides, as could not fail of greatly impoverishing the victor, and almost ruining the vanquished. Cromwell, rather than load the people with new impositions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour at that juncture of his newly-acquired power, was well disposed towards peace, and it was ratified on the 5th of April 1654. By this treaty the Dutch consented to pay the long-disputed compliment to the British flag. They abandoned the interest of Charles; they engaged to pay eighty-five thousand pounds, as indemnification for losses sustained by the English East-India Company, and to restore to them the island of Polerone. Those who had been concerned in the massacre at Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive, and three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds was to be paid to the sufferers in that business, or their representatives; and a defensive league was entered into between the two states.

The war between the two republics being terminated, Cromwell was at leisure to bend his attention to other powers of Europe, to whom he bore no friendly disposition. The Queen of England and her son Charles resided generally at Paris, and received from the French court a small yearly pension. This assistance was very displeasing to the English government; accordingly we have seen Blake attack and seize a whole squadron of French ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk. The French ministry

thought it expedient to renounce the intereſtsof the royal family, to avoid a rupture with England; Charles was therefore treated with ſuch ſtudied indifference in France, that he quitted the kingdom, and went firſt to Spa, and then to Cologne. Cardinal Mazarine, prime miniſter to Louis XIV. was extremely ſolicitous to engage Cromwell in an alliance with France againſt Spain; and, in ſhort, all the nations of Europe, which had ſlighted the alliance of England under the reigns of James and Charles, ſolicited it under the protector. Mazarine on the part of France, and Don Louis O'Hara on that of Spain, uſed all their arts of policy to unite themſelves to him; and Cromwell, for ſome time, enjoyed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf courted by the two moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe.

But here we muſt digreſs to ſpeak of ſome matters which happened more particularly at home. About this time ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and charged with a conſpiracy to murder the protector as he ſhould be going to Hampton-court, to ſeize the guards, the Tower of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the king. The chief of theſe were, Fox, Gerard, and Vowel; who, being tried by a high court of juſtice, and condemned, Fox was reprieved; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-croſs; both of them denying what they were accuſed of, and dying with great magnanimity and reſolution. On the ſame day there was another execution of an extraordinary nature: Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portugal ambaſſador's brother, a Knight of Malta, and a perſon eminent in many great actions, who, out of curioſity to ſee England, came over with the ambaſſador, happened to have a quarrel in the New Exchange with the forementioned Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with ſervants armed with ſwords and piſtols; where they killed another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded ſeveral others. Upon

this

this there was raiſed a great tumult, and, the Portugueſe flying to the ambaſſador's houſe, the people came flocking thither from all parts to ſeize the murderers. Cromwell, being informed of the matter, ſent an officer, with a party of ſoldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more eſpecially demanded of the ambaſſador the perſon of his brother, threatening, if he was not delivered up, to break open the houſe, and take him out by force. The ambaſſador inſiſted upon the privilege due to his houſe by the law of nations, and deſired time to ſend to the protector, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requeſted an audience. His highneſs ſent him word, "That a gentleman had been murdered, and others wounded, and that juſtice muſt be ſatisfied; requiring, that all perſons concerned might be delivered up to his officer; without which, if he ſhould withdraw his ſoldiers, the people would execute juſtice by a way for which he would not be anſwerable: but, this being done, he ſhould have an audience, and all the ſatisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambaſſador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude encreaſing their cry, "That they would pull down the houſe," he was to his great grief forced to deliver up his brother with the reſt, who were all ſent priſoners to Newgate. The ambaſſador was moſt earneſt in his ſolicitations for his brother, being willing that the others ſhould be left to the law; but all the anſwer he could have, was, "That juſtice muſt be done." And juſtice was done to the utmoſt; for, being all tried by a jury of half Engliſh and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and, among them the ambaſſador's brother, were condemned to die. All were hanged at Tyburn, ſays Lord Clarendon; Whitelock ſays they were all reprieved, except Don Pantaleon, who, immediately after the execution of Gerard, was conveyed from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a mourning coach and ſix horſes, attended by ſeveral of his brother's re-

tinue; and there on the ſame ſcaffold loſt his head, with as much terror and dejection of ſpirit, as Gerard had done with courage and reſolution. This greatly raiſed the opinion of the protector's juſtice, as well as of his power. And it is very remarkable, that, on the very day of this execution, the Portugal ambaſſador was obliged to ſign the articles of peace between the two nations.

The Cavalier plot was now on foot. The project was, to have ſeveral parties riſe together in different parts of the nation, about the beginning of March; and though, upon the private intelligence the protector had received, ſeveral perſons were apprehended, yet it was ſtill reſolved to attempt ſomething. To this end, a cartload of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where it was reported the conſpirators were to be headed by Wilmot earl of Rocheſter. But, being ſomewhat alarmed at their firſt meeting, and apprehenſive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were ſufficiently prepared, they diſperſed themſelves, leaving their arms behind them. The deſign was not ſo ſoon over in the weſt, where Sir J. Wagſtaff, Col. Penruddock, Capt. Grove, Mr. Jones, and other perſons of condition, entered Saliſbury with a body of two hundred horſe well armed, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the aſſizes, and they came thither about five o'clock in the morning; where, having proclaimed the king, they ſeized the judges, Rolls and Nicolas, and took away their commiſſions. They alſo ſeized the ſheriff; and Wagſtaff was for hanging all three of them; but, others not agreeing to it, they were at laſt ſet at liberty. Their forces not at all anſwering their firſt expectations, they retired to Dogtown, and from thence marched as far as Blandford in Dorſetſhire, where moſt men looked upon them as flying, ſeveral of their own party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe who continued with

with them, did so rather to secure themselves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of success in their undertaking. Captain Unton Crook, having intelligence of their motions, pursued them into Devonshire, and at South Molton fell upon them and totally defeated them: most of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them Penruddock, Grove, and Jones; Wagstaff, Mason, and Mompesson, narrowly escaping. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, and others were hanged in that city; some of them were sent to Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed, and there tried and executed; and many were transported to the West-Indies. Thus these insurrections, which at first seemed to threaten the whole kingdom, expired for the present, and the protector was secured without the help of his army. This plot, which was laid to ruin the protector, proved in the issue of great advantage to him, advanced his credit, and served to confirm his authority the more. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himself for an excuse and pretence to continue such numerous forces in pay; and the little success the king's party met with, was judged a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, "That all who had born arms for the king, or had declared themselves to be of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces, as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up;" the protector declaring, "That the charge should be laid upon those who had occasioned it, and not upon the honest party, who had already been so much sufferers." Commissioners were appointed in every county for this purpose; and by this means incredible sums of money were brought into the protector's coffers. And finally, he divided England, as it were, into so many cantons,

cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of major-general; which major-generals were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all moneys which were ordered by his highness and his council to be collected for the public, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the protector himself.

Though the protector proceeded in a very arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority; yet, in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned, he seemed to have great reverence for the law and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party; and, to do him justice, there appeared in his government many things truly great and praise-worthy. Justice, as well distributive as communicative, was by him restored almost to its ancient grace and splendour, the judges executing their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws, except some few, where himself was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Men's manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion, were either banished, or severely rebuked. Trade began again to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The protector also shewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The university of Oxford, in particular, acknowledged his respect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing

on the public library there four-and-twenty Greek manuſcripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He alſo ordered a ſcheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at Durham, for the convenience of the northern ſtudents.

About the year 1655, a deſign was formed by Cromwell of ſettling the Jews again in this nation; and, Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael, a great rabbi, came over and made his ſtated propoſals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exerciſe trade and worſhip in England. But the deſign was ſo violently oppoſed, that this treaty came to nothing. It is ſaid that the protector had the promiſe of two hundred thouſand pounds from the Jews, in caſe he procured this toleration for them; which made him ſo earneſt to bring it about: but Biſhop Burnet informs us, that he entered into this treaty with them for the ſake of intelligence. His words are theſe: "When he underſtood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſt in proportion to the riſque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to England, and gave them leave to build a ſynagogue. All the while he was negotiating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for him, eſpecially with relation to Spain and Portugal." Upon this the biſhop tells a ſtory, which he had from the Lord Broghill, who had now become Earl of Orrery: that, as that earl was once walking with Cromwell in one of the galleries at Whitehall, a man almoſt in rags appeared in view; upon which he immediately diſmiſſed the earl, and took that perſon with him into his cloſet; who told him of a great ſum of money, that the Spaniards were ſending over in a Dutch man

of

of war, to pay their army in Flanders; and alſo whereabouts in the ſhip the ſaid money was repoſited. The protector then immediately ſent an expreſs to Smith (afterwards Sir Jeremy Smith), who lay in the Downs, informing him, "That within a day or two two ſuch a Dutch ſhip would paſs the Channel, which he muſt ſearch for the Spaniſh money, which was contraband goods;" his highneſs being then at war with Spain. Accordingly, when the ſhip paſſed by Dover, Smith ſent and demanded leave to ſearch him. The Dutch captain returned him this anſwer, "That none but his maſters might ſearch him." Upon which, Smith ſent him word again, "That he had ſet up an hour-glaſs, and, if he did not ſubmit to the ſearch before it was run out, he would force him." The captain, ſeeing it was in vain to ſtruggle, ſubmitted in time, and ſo all the money was found. And the next time his highneſs ſaw Lord Orrery, he told him, he had his intelligence from that ſeemingly forlorn man he ſaw him go to ſome days before.

To return: the protector's greateſt difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe, France or Spain. The latter offered, that if his highneſs would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace, till he ſhould recover Calais again to the Engliſh. The protector was very well pleaſed with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to reſtore that town again to the Engliſh empire, after it had been a hundred years poſſeſſed by the French. Cardinal Mazarine, having intelligence of this offer made by the Spaniards, that he might outbid them, promiſed, in caſe the protector would join with France, to aſſiſt him in taking of Dunkirk, a place of much more importance. His highneſs was ſtill for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, but that which inclined him very much to join with France, was this: he ſaw that if France ſhould aſſiſt the king or his brother with an army of hugonots, to make a deſcent into England,

England, (which was threatened if he joined with Spain,) this might be of very dangerous conſequence to him, who had ſo many enemies at home, and ſo few friends; whereas the Spaniards could give thoſe princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in ſuch an enterprize. This conſideration made a great impreſſion on him; and, whilſt he was caſting in his mind what was to be done, one Gage, formerly a prieſt, came over from the Weſt-Indies, and gave him ſuch a relation of the weakneſs as well as of the riches of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and eaſy conqueſt, to ſeize on their dominions there. By this he hoped to ſupply himſelf with ſuch a treaſure, that his goverment would be eſtabliſhed before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a parliament for money. And, as the Spaniards would never admit of a peace with England between the tropics, he was in a ſtate of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war againſt them in Europe. Upon this, he prepared a fleet, with a force ſufficient, as he thought, to have ſeized Hiſpaniola and Cuba; Gage having aſſured him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would ſoon make him maſter of all the reſt. When the time of ſetting out this fleet came on, all men wondered whither it ſhould be deſigned. Some imagined it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehenſion occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it: others talked of Rome itſelf; for the protector's preachers often gave out, "That, if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ſack Babylon." Others thought the deſign was againſt Cadiz, though he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the ſecret; and the protector, not having finiſhed his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, "That he ſent out the fleet

to guard the seas, and to restore England to its dominions on that element."

This fleet, consisting of about thirty men of war under the command of Vice-admiral Penn, with about four thousand land-soldiers to be commanded by Venables, set sail, in the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commissions. Being safely arrived there, and new men taken in to encrease the land-army, they sailed to the island of Hispaniola. Coming about the middle of April before Saint Domingo, the chief port of that country, Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the lord protector, and marched them through such thick woods and uneasy passages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal force, beat them back. After this they advanced again towards the town, taking negroes for their guides, who led them into an ambuscade; so that they were again shamefully repulsed to the bay where they landed, with the loss of Major-general Haines, and above six hundred men. They were soon forced to re-embark; and then, to make some amends for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island of Jamaica, and obtained an easy possession of it; which island has ever since remained in the hands of the English: where leaving a good body of foot to secure it, they sailed back to England. The lord protector was never so much disturbed as at this disaster at Hispaniola; so that Penn and Venables were no sooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevailed on to trust either of them again.

About the time that Penn and Venables set out on this unfortunate expedition, Admiral Blake sailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to scour those seas of the Turkish pirates; and, not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolved to seek them out in their ports.

ports. He came first before Algiers, and sending to the Dey demanded that all the English ships might be restored, and all the English slaves released. The Dey hereupon sent a rich present to Blake, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, "That the ships and captives already taken belonged to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they should be restored at a moderate ransom; and, if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the English ships and natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake sailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the same demand as at Algiers, instead of the like submission, he received this resolute answer: "That there were their castles of Goletta, and their ships and castles of Porto Ferino; he might do his worst, for he should not think to fright them with the sight of his fleet." Provoked at this answer, Blake resolved to destroy their ships in Porto Ferino. Accordingly they manned their long-boats with stout seamen, and sent them into the harbour to fire those ships, whilst the admiral himself with all his fleet thundered most furiously with his cannon against their castles. The seamen, in the mean time, so bravely performed their parts, that all the nine Turkish ships of war were soon reduced to ashes, with the loss of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the English side. These were actions of the highest conduct and courage, which made the English name very formidable in those seas.

There was another reason of Blake's sailing into the Mediterranean, which was, to demand satisfaction of all princes and states that had molested the English in the time of war and confusion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he sailed to Leghorn, and dispatched his secretary to demand of the Great Duke of Tuscany sixty thousand pounds for damages sustained by the English in his dutchy; Prince Rupert having

taken and ſold as many Engliſh ſhips as amounted to that value, to the great duke's ſubjects. The ſaid duke was willing to pay part of the ſum, and deſired time to conſult the pope about the reſt. Blake ſaid the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum, which was paid him, thirty-five thouſand Spaniſh and twenty-five thouſand Italian piſtoles. The duke pretended that the pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly the next ſucceeding pope repaid the great duke twenty thouſand piſtoles. Admiral Blake ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had received from the ſeveral ſtates for ſatisfaction and damages, and they were ordered to ſail up the Thames together, for a pleaſing ſpectacle to the people.

The King of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon his dominions in the Weſt-Indies, declared war againſt England; and the protector on the other hand diſpatched orders to Admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet, and make what deſtruction he could upon the coaſts of Spain; and thought fit now to finiſh his alliance with France, ſending Lockhart his ambaſſador thither for that end. His highneſs undertook to ſend over an army of ſix thouſand foot; and, when the forts in Dunkirk and Mardyke ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his hands: and the French king likewiſe obliged himſelf by this treaty not to permit King Charles, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

About this time, the protector had two ſignal occaſions given him, to exerciſe his charity, and diſplay his power, and ſhew his zeal in protecting the Proteſtants abroad. The Duke of Savoy raiſed a new perſecution of the Vaudois, cruelly murdering and maſſacring many of them, and driving the reſt from their dwellings into the mountains. Upon this the protector ſent

to

to Mazarine, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, "That he knew well they had the duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and, if they did not, he must presently break with them." The cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: he promised to do good offices; but said, he could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the protector, till they obliged the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had unjustly taken from his Protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose he also wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, though he had otherwise no concern with him. But, the title of royal highness being by mistake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of Savoy was for returning it back unopened; but the Marquis de Pianezza representing to them, that Cromwell was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront; that he would certainly lay Villa Franca in ashes, and set the Swiss Protestant Cantons upon Savoy; the letter was read; which, together with the cardinal's influence, had the desired success. The lord protector also raised a great sum of money for the Vaudois, and sent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.---The other instance was this: there happened a tumult at Nismes, in which the hugonots had committed some disorder; who, being apprehensive of very severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great secresy and expedition to Cromwell, to desire his interposition and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his highness, having received the whole account, bade him, "Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it dispatched." Accordingly, that night he dispatched an agent, with a letter to the cardinal, and one inclosed for the king. The letter to the cardinal was in Latin; to which he

added this poſtſcript in French with his own hand; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Niſmes. Je recommande à votre eminence les interets des reformez.* "I have heard of the tumult at Niſmes: I recommend to your eminence the intereſts of the reformed." He alſo ſent inſtructions to his ambaſſador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be paſſed over, or *to come away immediately*. The cardinal complained of this way of proceeding; but the neceſſity of their affairs made him comply.

Cromwell, having concluded the treaty with France, reſolved now on a vigorous proſecution of the war with Spain. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. He lay for ſome time off the harbour of Cadiz, where lay a fleet of forty ſail; and on that ſtation he hoped to intercept the flota; but, that not arriving ſo ſoon as he expected, he found his ſtock of water begin to fail, and was obliged to ſail for Portugal to procure a ſupply. The admirals ſtill left a ſquadron of ſeven frigates, under the command of Commodore Stayner, to intercept the galleons. A few days after, they came in ſight, and the Engliſh commander gave them chaſe, and preſently came up with them. They conſiſted of eight large ſhips. The weather was ſo unfavourable for the attack, that four veſſels of his ſmall force could not come up to bear a part in the action; yet, with the other three, the Speaker, the Bridgewater, and the Plymouth, he made a furious attack on the Spaniards. After an obſtinate engagement, two of the galleons were ſunk; two more ran on ſhore; two were taken, and only two eſcaped into Cadiz. One of the ſhips that were ſunk had been ſet on fire in the action, on-board of which was the Marquis of Badajox, of the family of Lopez, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter. This nobleman had an opportunity of eſcaping the flames; but ſeeing his wife and child ſink under

under the diſtreſs that ſurrounded them, and periſh, he preferred death with them to life without them, and refuſed to leave the ſhip. His ſon and brother were ſaved. On-board the two ſhips which fell into the hands of the Engliſh, were near two millions of pieces of eight; and treaſure, to an equal amount, was buried in the ocean. Admiral Montague, with the young Marquis of Badajox, and part of the fleet to eſcort the ſilver, arrived at Portſmouth; from whence the treaſure was conveyed by land, with great parade, to London.

Blake having received intelligence that another Spaniſh fleet from South-America had put into the Canary-iſlands, immediately proceeded thither. He found the ſhips in the bay Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff. They conſiſted of ſix galleons, richly laden, and ten other veſſels. Theſe latter lay within the port, with a ſtrong barricado before them; the galleons were drawn up without the boom, becauſe they drew too much water to lie within it. The harbour itſelf was ſtrongly fortified, having to the north a caſtle well furniſhed with artillery, and ſeven forts, which communicated with each other, all of which were defended by a numerous garriſon. The Spaniſh governor, Don Diego Diagues, conſidered the place as ſo ſecure by nature and art, and ſo well provided with the means of defence, that when the maſter of a Dutch ſhip applied to him for leave to ſail, becauſe he dreaded Blake's attacking the ſhips in the harbour, he ſcornfully anſwered, "Go if you will, and let Blake come in if he dare." The Engliſh admiral, after ſurveying the ſituation of the enemy, and the ſtrength of the place, called a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to attack the ſhips in the harbour, and endeavour to deſtroy them, it being conſidered as impracticable to carry them off. Captain Stayner, who had ſo effectually attacked the Spaniſh galleons, was appointed, with a ſmall ſquadron, to this honourable and deſperate ſervice. He ſoon forced his paſſage into the bay, while other frigates

gates played their guns on the forts and lines, and thereby prevented them from annoying the ſhips in their attack. Stayner's ſquadron was quickly ſupported by Blake with the whole fleet; the wind ſeconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought them among the thickeſt of the enemy. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to Engliſh valour, and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed, with all their treaſure. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They were expoſed to the fire of the caſtle and the forts, which, with all their caution, they could not expect to ſilence; but, whilſt they remained in this perilous ſituation, the wind, ſuddenly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay, leaving the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the intrepidity and good fortune of the Engliſh. The whole loſs ſuſtained in this daring attempt, was no more than forty-eight men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

When the news of this glorious ſucceſs was brought to the protector, he ſent his ſecretary, Thurloe, to the parliament, which was then ſitting, with the account, who thereupon appointed a day of general thankſgiving, and voted a ring, of five hundred pounds value, to the commander in chief; a preſent of one hundred pounds to the captain that brought the news; and their thanks to all the officers and ſeamen concerned in the action. Captain Stayner, returning ſoon after, was knighted by the protector.

As this was the laſt, ſo it was the moſt diſtinguiſhed, atchievement of the renowned Blake. Shortly after, he again cruiſed before the harbour of Cadiz, where finding his ſhips become foul, and that his own health and ſpirits wore away, he reſolved to ſail for England. By this time he was languiſhing under an inveterate ſcurvy, attended with a dropſy. In his paſſage home he became much worſe; and, as he perceived his end approaching, he frequently enquired, with great earneſtneſs,

neſtneſs, after the appearance of land, anxious to breathe out his laſt in his native country. But this ſatisfaction he did not enjoy; he died as his ſhip (the St. George) entered Plymouth Sound, on the 17th of Auguſt, 1657, aged fifty-nine years. "Never man," ſays Mr. Hume, "ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed, even by the oppoſite factions. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. 'It is ſtill our duty,' he would ſay to the ſeamen, 'to fight for our country, into what hands ſoever the government may fall.' He was diſintereſted, generous, and liberal; ambitious only of true glory; dreadful only to his avowed enemies: he therefore forms one of the moſt perfect characters of the age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences which were then ſo predominant."

As victory crowned the protector's arms by ſea this year, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The ſix thouſand men which he was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, for acting jointly with the French againſt the Spaniards, being tranſported under the command of Sir John Reynolds and Major-general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which, when taken, were to be put into Cromwell's hands, but marched to other places which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But the Engliſh ambaſſador Lockhart made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the cardinal, complaining of their breach of faith, not without ſome menaces, "That his maſter knew where to find a more punctual friend," that, as ſoon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders and inveſted Mardyke, which being taken would much facilitate the deſign upon Dunkirk. The French and Engliſh had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduced to a ſurrender upon

compoſition, and delivered up wholly into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. But, preſently after, the French being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of Dunkirk, detached a body of horſe and foot to retake it. Among theſe were two thouſand Engliſh and Iriſh, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort, but were ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave commanders.

Upon the French king's entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his family was obliged to leave France and retire to Cologne; where, having reſided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with Catholic king, repaired to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handſome accommodation for himſelf and his ſmall court. About this time, among other methods he uſed for his reſtoration, Mr. Echard tells us of a private application he made to Cromwell, which he ſays came from the mouth of the Ducheſs of Lauderdale, who told the ſame to a perſon of whoſe credit he could make no queſtion. The ſtory is this: that this lady, afterwards Ducheſs of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employed to make a private offer and propoſal to him, in ſubſtance as follows: "That if he would reſtore, or permit the king to return to his throne, he would ſend him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and ſettle what power and riches he pleaſed upon himſelf, family, and friends." This propoſal was firſt communicated to the protector's lady, who liked it very well, believing, that, beſides other advantages, it would bring abſolute indemnity and ſecurity to her huſband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when ſhe was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of

the higheſt moment to the happineſs of himſelf and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and perſuaſions, preſently told her, "She was a fool;" adding this ſhrewd ſentence: "If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his family, he does not deſerve to wear the crown of England."

In the beginning of the year 1658, a party of the garriſon of Oſtend, with the privity of the governor, held intelligence with Cardinal Mazarine, and then with the Protector Cromwell, to betray that town into the hands of the French, wherein Cromwell was to have his ſhare. Mazarine was to ſend a land army under the command of Marſhal D'Aumont, and the protector was to furniſh a fleet for tranſporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the ſuppoſed conſpirators and the cardinal, on May 14th, the appointed day, the Engliſh fleet appeared before Oſtend, and the garriſon permitted the French to paſs and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſubtle governor, having ſuffered the fleet to come to a proper diſtance, on a ſudden pulled down the white flag that had invited them in, and ſet up a bloody flag: and, before the veſſels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he ſorely galled them by the cannon from the forts; and the French that landed were all, to the number of fifteen hundred, ſlain or taken priſoners, among which laſt was the Marſhal D'Aumont himſelf.

Preſently after this great diſappointment, it was reſolved to attempt the taking of Dunkirk; which was accordingly inveſted by the French, aſſiſted by ſix thouſand valiant Engliſhmen, under the inſpection of Lockhart, the protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of Major-general Morgan. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the French under Marſhal Turenne on the ſide of Newport, and Morgan with his Engliſh and a

brigade of French horſe on that next Mardyke, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spaniſh general Don John of Auſtria, with the Prince of Condé, the Prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Gloceſter, were advancing with thirty thouſand men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French king and cardinal were perſuaded by Turenne and others to withdraw their perſons, and retire to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege if the enemy came on. But, in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, Morgan vehemently oppoſed that reſolution, alleging, "What a diſhonour it would be to the crown of France, to have ſummoned a place, and broke ground before it, and then raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and, deſiring the council to conſider, "that, if they raiſed the ſiege, the alliance with England would be broken the ſame hour." Upon which it was reſolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And, the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the Engliſh before the French came in. At the end of the purſuit, Marſhal Turenne, with above a hundred officers, came up to the Engliſh, alighted from their horſes, and, embracing the officers, ſaid, "They never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing." The Spaniſh army being entirely vanquiſhed, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and induſtry; and the Marquis de Leda, the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the Spaniards within deſired a preſent capitulation; which being granted, this important place was ſurrendered upon articles, on the twenty-fifth of June; when

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it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the Engliſh by the French king and cardinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and Cromwell.

And here we cannot omit the following ſtory in relation of this affair, in which both the perfidiouſneſs of the French court and the policy and power of Cromwell are very remarkably ſeen. It is thus related by Dr. Welwood. "When the French army, being joined with the Engliſh auxiliaries, was on its march to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent one morning for the French ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his maſter's deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret orders to the French general to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, 'Here,' ſays he, 'is a copy of the cardinal's order: and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an expreſs, to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that, if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it ſhall be taken, I will come in perſon and demand them at the gates of Paris.' There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the Marſhal de Turenne, and a ſecretary. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabbed it out to ſome of her women: whereas it was found, after the ſecretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the copy of the order above-mentioned. The meſſage had its effect: for Dunkirk was put into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh: and, to palliate the matter, (continues Welwood), the Duke and Marſhal of Crequy was diſpatched into England, ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment

compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect.

The protector, being now in the height of his glory, reſolved to make a party for a crown, and get the title of king conferred on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for, as to the power of a king, he was really more formidable than any of the Engliſh monarchs ever were.

The parliament had ſat about ſix months, when the debate came on in the houſe, about changing Cromwell's title of lord protector into that of king. A new inſtrument was drawn up, and read in the houſe, having a blank left for the title of the ſingle perſon, and two other blanks for the two houſes of parliament. This was brought in by Mr. Pack, a rich alderman of London, who was ſuppoſed to be very much in the court intereſt; and, when it came to be debated, it was ſharply oppoſed by the ſoldiers party in the houſe; yet, when it came to be put to the queſtion, they carried all before them, and grew ſo bold as to move, "That the blank left for the inſertion of the title of chief magiſtrate might be filled up with the name of king." Which motion, though very much oppoſed by Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was likewiſe carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up of the two blanks left for the two houſes, with the words, "houſe of commons, and, other houſe." This done, on the 4th of April they preſented this writing to the lord protector, which was ſtiled, "The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his highneſs;" at which time, the ſpeaker Sir Thomas Widdrington made a ſpeech to him, recommending the title and office of a king, as ſettled here with Chriſtianity itſelf, approved and maintained by our anceſtors, and every way

way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England. The protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this offer, yet finding it to be againſt the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Deſborough, were particularly averſe to it, inſtead of a ready aſſent, thought fit to demur upon it; and, the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he deſired, "That a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great cauſe."

A committee was accordingly appointed, which, on April 11, met in the Painted-chamber; and the conference carried on with the members who made him the offer, ſo far as it is on his part intelligible, ſeems to argue that he was deſirous of being compelled to accept the offer: however, the conference ended in his total refuſal.

With all theſe proferred honours, and with all this deſpotic power, and theſe brilliant ſucceſſes by ſea and land, the ſituation of Cromwell was far from being enviable. Perhaps no condition, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more diſtreſsful than his, at the time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addreſſes. He had at laſt rendered himſelf hateful to every party, and he owed his ſafety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of one another. His arts of diſſimulation were exhauſted; none could be deceived by them; even thoſe of his own party and principles diſdaining the uſe to which he had converted his zeal and profeſſions. Though the whole nation ſilently deteſted his adminiſtration, he had not been completely wretched if he could have found domeſtic conſolation. But even his own family had embraced republican principles with ſo much vehemence, that they could not without indignation behold him inveſted with uncontroulable power; and Mrs. Claypole,

pole, his favourite daughter, upbraided him, on her death-bed, with all the crimes which led him to trample on the throne. To add to all this, not only were conſpiracies formed againſt him, but he was at laſt taught, upon reaſoning principles, that his death was not only deſirable, but his aſſaſſination would be meritorious. A book was publiſhed by Colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cauſe, entitled Killing no Murder. Of all the pamphlets that appeared at that time, or perhaps of thoſe that have ſince appeared, this was the moſt eloquent and maſterly. Cromwell read it, and is ſaid never to have ſmiled afterwards.

The uſurper now found, that the grandeur to which he had ſacrificed his former tranquillity was only an inlet to freſh inquietudes. He was haunted with perpetual fears of aſſaſſination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept piſtols in his pockets. His aſpect was clouded by a ſettled gloom, and he regarded every ſtranger with ſuſpicion. He was always attended by a numerous guard, and travelled in a hurry. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and never ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber. At laſt he was delivered from this life of horror and anxiety by a tertian ague. of which he died September 3, 1658, after having uſurped the government nine years.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after ſo many great actions, ſo many toils and fatigues, and ſo many plots and conſpiracies againſt his life, at laſt died quietly in his bed. He expired in the ſixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the diſſolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared protector by the inſtrument of government, and but one year three months and nine days after his being confirmed in that office by the humble petition and advice.

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell was of a robuſt make and conſtitution; his aſpect manly, though clowniſh. His education extended no farther than a ſuperficial knowledge of the Latin tongue: but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were ſuch as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war, inflamed by religious conteſts. His character was formed from an amazing conjuncture of enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and ambition. He was poſſeſſed of courage and reſolution, that overlooked all dangers, and ſaw no difficulties. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful ſagacity, whilſt he concealed his own purpoſes, under the impenetrable ſhield of diſſimulation.

Ambitious he certainly was to a very high degree; and, whatever cenſure we are to paſs upon his actions, it is allowed by all, that he performed many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation. One author reckons them up thus: "1. By Blake he more humbled and ſubdued the Algerine, Tripoli, and Tunis, pirates, than ever any before or ſince did. 2. Weſtminſter-hall was never repleniſhed with more learned and upright judges than by him; nor was juſtice, either in law or equity, in civil caſes, more equally diſtributed, where he was not a party. 3. When the Norway traders repreſented to him the miſchief and inconveniences of the act of navigation, he, during his time, diſpenſed with it, and permitted the Engliſh to trade to Norway for timber, maſts, pitch, tar, and iron, as before the act: and, by a law made in his third parliament, licence is given to tranſport fiſh in foreign bottoms. 4. Though he played the fool in making war with Spain, and peace with France, yet he made a more advantageous treaty of commerce for the Engliſh to France than before they had. 5. Though he joined forces with the French againſt the Spaniards, yet he reſerved the ſea-towns conquered from the Spaniards to himſelf, and ſo had

Dunkirk and Mardyke delivered up to him, and would have had Oſtend, if the garriſon had not cheated both Mazarine and him; thereby to be arbitrator over the French, as well as Spaniards, when he pleaſed. 6. Cromwell outvied the beſt of our kings, in rendering our laws to the ſubject in the Engliſh tongue: for, though Edward I. permitted pleading in the Engliſh tongue, yet he went no farther; whereas Cromwell rendered not only the pleadings, but practice, and laws themſelves, into Engliſh." In ſhort, he applied himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the buſineſs of the commonwealth, and diſcovered ſuch abilities for managing of it, that his greateſt enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been juſt and innocent. And he ſhewed his good underſtanding in nothing more than in ſeeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general ſatisfaction.

No prince ſeemed to be maſter of ſo much and ſo particular intelligence as Cromwell; of which we have given ſome remarkable inſtances in the foregoing hiſtory.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratified the temper which is very natural to Engliſhmen. Of this he was ſo careful, that, though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambaſſadors had all the reſpects and honours paid them which our kings ambaſſadors ever had. He would ſay, "That the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the repreſentative head; and therefore, the nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame reſpect paid to his miniſters." And it is very obſervable, that Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador in France, and governor of Dunkirk, told Biſhop Burnet, "That, when he was ſent afterwards ambaſſador by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid to him in Cromwell's time."

Cromwell's influence was ſo great in France, that Cardinal Mazarine durſt not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complained of to thoſe he could be free with. He one day made a viſit to Madame Turenne, and, when he took his leave of her, ſhe, as ſhe was wont to do, beſought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which Mazarine told her, "That he knew not how to behave himſelf. If he adviſed the king to puniſh and ſuppreſs their inſolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniards; and, if he ſhewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic." It was ſaid, that the cardinal would change countenance, when he heard Cromwell named; ſo that it paſſed into a proverb in France, "That he was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell.

Spain dreaded him, and courted his friendſhip, as much as France, though the latter prevailed. When the Spaniſh ambaſſador was informed, that the fleet under Penn and Venables was gone towards the Weſt-Indies, and that the ſtorm was likely to fall upon ſome of his maſter's territories, he applied himſelf to the protector, to know whether he had any juſt ground of complaint againſt the king his maſter; if ſo, he was ready to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction. The protector demanded a liberty to trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquiſition: to which the ambaſſador replied, "That his maſter had but two eyes, and that he would have him put them both out at once."

The ſtates of Holland ſo dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: and when at any time the king or his brothers came to ſee their ſiſter, the Princeſs of Orange, within a day or two they uſed to ſend a deputation to acquaint them, that Cromwell had obliged them to give them no harbour.

Even the Turks ſtood in awe of Cromwell, and dared not offend him. And all Italy trembled at his name, and ſeemed under a panic-fear as long as he lived. When Admiral Blake ſailed into the Mediterranean, the city of Rome and all the pope's territories were greatly alarmed; and the terror of the people was ſuch, that public proceſſions were made, and the hoſt was expoſed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent Blake's attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that Cromwell uſed to ſay, "That his ſhips in the Mediterranean ſhould viſit Civita Vecchia, and the ſound of his cannon ſhould be heard in Rome. But, in the midſt of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring deſigns. It ſtill remains a queſtion, where the body of Cromwell was really buried. It was, in appearance, in Weſtminſter-abbey; ſome report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames; but it is moſt probable that it was buried in Naſeby-field. The following account is given by Mr. Barkſtead, ſon to Barkſtead the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of Cromwell's death: "That the ſaid Barkſtead his father, being lieutenant of the Tower, and a great confident of Cromwell's, did, among other ſuch confidence, in the time of his illneſs, deſire to know where he would be buried: to which the protector anſwered, 'Where he had obtained the greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſſed where the heat of the action was,' viz. in the field at Naſeby. Which accordingly was thus performed: at midnight, ſoon after his death, the body (being firſt embalmed and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearſe conveyed to the ſaid field, Mr. Barkſtead himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe to the hearſe: being come to the field, they found, about the midſt of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put,

put, the grave was inſtantly filled up, and the green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that the ſurplus mould ſhould be clean removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that the field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with corn."

It ſeems, at leaſt, pretty certain, that Oliver's corpſe was not really interred in Weſtminſter-abbey; and conſequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hanged at Tyburn. But whether this account of its being buried in Naſeby-field, or the the other of its being ſunk in the Thames, is moſt probable, we cannot ſay. What is ſaid for the former, the reader has juſt ſeen. The other was related by a perſon who attended Oliver in his laſt ſickneſs; namely, that the day after the protector's death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe; when it was concluded, that, conſidering the malice of the cavaliers, it was moſt certain they would inſult the body of their moſt dreadful enemy, if ever it ſhould be in their power; to prevent which, it was reſolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on-board a barge, and ſink it in the deepeſt part of the Thames; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and ſome truſty ſoldiers, the following night.

Commercial Anecdotes.---Before the commencement of the civil wars, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company are ſaid to have employed fifteen thouſand tons of ſhipping; but afterwards that trade greatly declined; and, from the year 1653 to 1657, a kind of open trade was carried on from England to the eaſt, which greatly affected the merchants who traded on the joint ſtock. In what manner this free trade benefited thoſe who embarked in it is not certainly handed down to us. Some maintain, that during thoſe four years, when the Eaſt-India trade was laid open, the commodities brought from India were ſold ſo cheap that the Engliſh ſupplied more parts of Europe, and even Amſterdam itſelf, there-

therewith, than they ever did afterwards, whereby they very much ſunk the Dutch Eaſt-India Company's actions. On the other hand it is aſſerted, and pretty generally believed, that even the ſeparate traders themſelves were loſers in the end, and, by their want of authority and power, traded with the natives to great diſadvantage.

In the year 1653 the poſtage in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was farmed for ten thouſand pounds yearly; by this ſettlement, ſingle letters carried as far as eighty miles paid two-pence, and double ones four-pence; beyond eighty miles three-pence, and double ones ſix-pence.

About this time coals from Newcaſtle were uſually ſold at above twenty ſhillings the chaldron in London, and more than nine hundred ſail of ſhips were employed in that trade. Three hundred and twenty keels, or lighters, were ſuppoſed to be employed at Newcaſtle, each of which carried yearly eight hundred chaldrons of coals, Newcaſtle meaſure, on-board the ſhips; one hundred and thirty-ſix of ſuch chaldrons of coals are reckoned equal to two hundred and ſeventeen chaldrons of London meaſure. The conſumption of this article of fuel, ſuppoſing the calculation to be accurately made, amounted, in the year 1655, to ſixty-nine thouſand four hundred and forty chaldrons of London meaſure.

The firſt introduction of the ſugar-cane into the Engliſh Weſt-India ſettlements, is ſaid to be in the year 1641, when they were brought from Fernambuc, in the Braſils, and planted in Barbadoes, where they proved ſucceſsful, after ſome years cultivation. The value of land on that iſland increaſed rapidly, when this branch of trade came to be introduced there; a plantation of five hundred acres, which before might have been purchaſed for four hundred pounds ſterling, in a few years after was ſuppoſed to be worth fourteen thouſand pounds. By the cultivation of the ſugar-

cane,

cane, many fortunes were rapidly made; ſo that men carrying a few hundred pounds with them there, in a few years have amaſſed one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Such ſucceſs encouraged many people to go there from England; the merchants at home fitted out more ſhips, and freighted them with proviſions, tools, cloathing, and all other neceſſaries, in exchange for which they received the produce of the iſland; and, this being the firſt of our colonies which adopted the plantation of ſugar, it greatly haſtened the improvement of the other Caribbee iſlands, which ſoon followed the example of Barbadoes, in planting the ſugar-cane, to very great advantage. As it was not poſſible to cultivate this commodity by white people in ſo hot a climate, ſo neither were they ſufficiently numerous for ſuch purpoſes; neceſſity therefore, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the ſlave-trade, from the coaſt of Guinea. The increaſed population in thoſe iſlands ſoon created a vaſt demand for all neceſſaries from England, and alſo a new and conſiderable trade to Madeira for wines. The mother-country, at this time, laid no reſtraints on this infant trade, but for ſeveral years it remained open to all nations. After the reſtoration indeed, the parliament, obſerving the great detriment which the kingdom ſuffered by ſuch an open trade, reſtrained it to none but natives of England, by ſeveral acts of navigation; whereby the ports of London and Briſtol became the great marts for ſugar, and from thence the northern and middle parts of Europe were ſupplied. This reduced the Portugal ſugars of Braſil, in a ſhort time, ſo low, as from eight pounds to two pounds ten ſhillings per hundred weight; and in this proſperous ſtate the trade remained until the French, in their turn, ſo greatly improved their ſugar-iſlands, as to be able to underſel us in moſt parts of Europe.

RICHARD

RICHARD CROMWELL, upon his father's death, was solemnly proclaimed protector all over England, &c. and was congratulated hereupon by addresses from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their resolutions to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themselves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved commonwealth, he found himself necessitated to call a parliament. A parliament was accordingly summoned, which Richard met the 27th of January, with the same state that the English monarchs and his father had done before him. They had not sat long before great differences and contentions arose between them and the army; so that the officers, being informed that some votes were passed in opposition to their designs, immediately sent Fleetwood and Desborough to the protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood alleged, "That, if this were not presently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood." Desborough, who was of a rougher temper, told him, "It was impossible for him to keep both parliament and army his friends; and desired him to chuse which he would prefer: if he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall." On the other hand, many members assured him, that the parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: some officers of the army likewise, as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Gough, and Howard, offered to stand by him, against those who were called the general council of the army; and Howard in particular earnestly pressed him to exert himself by some vigorous action, such as supported his father's authority to the last: "You are Cromwell's son," said he; "shew yourself worthy of that name: this business requires a bold stroke, supported by a good hand; do not suffer

yourself

yourſelf to be daunted, and my head ſhall anſwer for the conſequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Deſborough, and Vane, are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but ſtand by me, and ſecond my zeal with your name." Richard anſwered, "That he did not love blood;" and, being a man of irreſolute temper, was at laſt prevailed on by the oppoſite party to diſſolve the parliament.

Having got rid of the parliament, the council of officers were for laying Richard aſide too; and ſo they reſtored the remnant of the long parliament, commonly called the rump, which Oliver had ejected, to their ſeats again; and Richard, after a reign of about ſeven months and twenty days, returned to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of Whitehall, he ordered his ſervants to be very careful of two old trunks, which ſtood in his wardrobe. The men wondered at this; and one of his friends, hearing him enquire very earneſtly after them, aſked him what was in them, that made him ſo much concerned about them? "Why, no leſs," ſaid Richard, "than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England;" meaning the numberleſs addreſſes that were preſented to him.

Richard, ſome years before the death of King Charles II. returned to England; and, having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the ſecurity of innocence, and the inſtability of human greatneſs, he died at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, in the year 1712.

The rump-parliament were no ſooner reinſtated in their authority, however, than they began to humble the army by caſhiering ſome of the officers, and appointing others on whom they could have more dependence. The officers immediately reſolved to diſſolve the aſſembly. Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a choſen body of troops; and, placing them in the ſtreets which led to Weſtminſter-hall, when

the ſpeaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the houſe, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewiſe intercepted; and the army returned to their quarters to obſerve a ſolemn faſt, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages. A committee was then elected, of twenty-three perſons; of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and a military government was eſtabliſhed, which gave the nation a proſpect of endleſs ſervitude, and tyranny without redreſs.

Upon hearing that the officers had by their own authority diſſolved the parliament, General Monk, who was then in Scotland with eight thouſand veteran troops, proteſted againſt the meaſure, and reſolved to defend the national privileges. As ſoon as he put his army in motion, he found himſelf eagerly ſought after by all parties; but, ſo cautious was he of declaring his mind, that, till the very laſt, it was impoſſible to know which ſide he deſigned to take. A remarkable inſtance of this cautious behaviour was, that, when his own brother came to him with a meſſage from Lord Grenville in the name of the king, he refuſed all converſation with him upon hearing that he had told his errand to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, and a man of known probity and honour.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppoſe him, Monk amuſed them with negociations; and the people, finding themſelves not entirely defenceleſs, began to declare for a free parliament. The rump, finding themſelves invited alſo by the navy and part of the army, again ventured to reſume their ſeats, and to thunder votes in their turn againſt the officers and that party of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the troops to repair immediately to the garriſons appointed for them. The ſoldiers obeyed; and Lambert at laſt found himſelf deſerted by his

whole army. Monk in the mean time proceeded with his army to London. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with addreſſes, expreſſing their deſire of a new parliament; but that general, ſtill continuing his inflexible taciturnity, at laſt came to St. Alban's, within a few miles of the capital, leaving all the world in doubt as to his motives and deſigns. Here he ſent the parliament a meſſage, deſiring them to remove ſuch forces as remained in London to country quarters. Some of the regiments willingly obeyed this order; and ſuch as did not, Monk turned out by force: after which he took up his quarters with his army in Weſtminſter. The houſe voted him thanks for his ſervices; he deſired them to call a free parliament; and this ſoon inſpired the citizens to refuſe ſubmiſſion to the preſent government. They reſolved to pay no taxes until the members formerly excluded by Colonel Pride ſhould be replaced. For this they were puniſhed by Monk, at the deſire of the parliament. He arreſted eleven of the moſt obnoxious of the common-council; broke the gates and portculliſes; and, having expoſed it to the ſcorn and contempt of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters at Weſtminſter. The next day, however, he made an apology for this conduct, and promiſed for the future to co-operate with the mayor and common-council in ſuch ſchemes as they ſhould approve.

The commons were now greatly alarmed. They tried every method to gain off the general from his new alliance. Some of them even promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate, and to ſupport his uſurpation. But Monk was too juſt, or too wiſe, to hearken to ſuch wild propoſals; he reſolved to reſtore the ſecluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election.

The reſtoration of the expelled members was eaſily effected; and their number was ſo much ſuperior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this laſt party now

thought proper to withdraw in their turn. The reſtored members began with repealing all thoſe orders by which they had been expelled. They renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion; fixed a proper ſtipend for the ſupport of the fleet and army; and, having paſſed theſe votes, they diſſolved themſelves, and gave orders for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament. Meanwhile, Monk new modelled his army to the purpoſes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, preſented him with an addreſs, in which they promiſed to obey implicitly the orders of the enſuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be ſigned by all the different regiments; and this furniſhed him with a pretence for diſmiſſing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, Lambert, who had been confined in the Tower, eſcaped from his priſon, and began to raiſe forces; and, as his activity and principles were ſufficiently known, Monk took the earlieſt precautions to oppoſe his meaſures. He diſpatched againſt him Colonel Ingoldſby, with his own regiment, before Lambert had time to aſſemble his dependents. That officer had taken poſſeſſion of Daventry with four troops of horſe: but the greater part of them joined Ingoldſby; to whom he himſelf ſurrendered, not without exhibiting ſtrong marks of puſillanimity.

All this time Monk ſtill perſiſted in his reſerve; nor would he intruſt his ſecret intentions with any perſon, except one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire. He was of a ſedentary and ſtudious diſpoſition; and with him alone did the general deliberate on the great and dangerous enterprize of the reſtoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the king, applied for acceſs to the general; but he was deſired to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville refuſed, though twice urged, to deliver his meſſage to any but the general himſelf; ſo that Monk, now finding he could depend on this miniſter's ſecrecy, opened to him his whole

whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, refused to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From thence he retired to Holland, where he resolved to wait further advice.

The new parliament being assembled, Sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, a man known to be a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared, for some days make any mention of his name. At length Monk gave directions to Annesly, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the house of commons. This message was received with the utmost joy. Granville was called in, the letter read, and the king's proposals immediately accepted of. He offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions but what should be made by parliament. He promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by acts of parliament; to satisfy the army under General Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers when they should be enlisted in the king's army.

In consequence of this good agreement between king and parliament, Montague the English admiral waited on his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The Duke of York went immediately on-board, and took the command as lord high admiral. The king embarked, and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly

derly embraced. He entered London in 1660, on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day; and was attended by an innumerable multitude of people, who teſtified their joy by the loudeſt acclamations.

CHARLES II. was thirty years of age at the time of his reſtoration. Being naturally of an engaging countenance, and poſſeſſed of an open and affable diſpoſition, he was the favourite of all ranks of his ſubjects. They had now felt the miſeries of anarchy, and in proportion to theſe miſeries was the ſatisfaction they felt on the acceſſion of their young monarch. His firſt meaſures were calculated to give univerſal ſatisfaction. He ſeemed deſirous of loſing the memory of paſt animoſities, and of uniting every party in affection for their prince and country. He admitted into his council the moſt eminent men of the nation, without regard to former diſtinctions. The preſbyterians ſhared this honour equally with the royaliſts. Calamy and Baxter, preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich, and General Monk duke of Albemarle. Morrice, the general's friend, was created ſecretary of ſtate. But what gave the greateſt contentment to the nation was the judicious choice which the king at firſt made of his principal miniſters and favourites. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was prime miniſter and chancellor. The Marquis, created Duke, of Ormond, was ſteward of the houſehold; the Earl of Southampton high-treaſurer; Sir Edward Nicholas ſecretary of ſtate. Theſe men, united together in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and combining in the ſame laudable inclinations, ſupported each others credit, and purſued the intereſts of the public.

The parliament, having been ſummoned without the king's conſent, received at firſt only the title of a convention; and it was not till after an act paſſed for that purpoſe, that they were acknowledged by the name of parliament.

parliament. Both houſes owned the guilt of the former rebellion, and gratefully received in their own name, and in that of all the ſubjects, his majeſty's gracious pardon and indemnity. The king had before promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament: he now iſſued a proclamation, declaring, that ſuch of the late king's judges as did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves; ſome were taken in their flight; others eſcaped beyond ſea. The peers ſeemed inclined to great ſeverity on this occaſion; but were reſtrained by the king, who in the moſt earneſt terms preſſed the act of general indemnification.

After repeated ſolicitations, the act of indemnity paſſed both houſes, with the exception of thoſe who had an immediate hand in the king's death. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradſhaw, though dead, were conſidered as proper objects of reſentment: their bodies (ſee p. 156) were dug from their graves; dragged to the place of execution; and, after hanging ſome time, buried under the gallows. Of the reſt who ſat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, ſome were dead, and ſome thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of eighty, were doomed to immediate deſtruction; and theſe were enthuſiaſts who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general ſpirit of rage excited againſt them, ſhewed a fortitude that would have done honour to a better cauſe.

This was all the blood that was ſhed at the reſtoration. The reſt of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards diſperſed into ſeveral priſons. The army was diſbanded, that had for ſo many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were reſtored; at the ſame time that the king pretended to preſerve the air of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a profeſſed deiſt; but

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in the latter part of his life he ſhewed an inclination to the Catholic perſuaſion, which he had ſtrongly imbibed in his infancy and exile.

On the 13th of September this year died, the young Duke of Glouceſter, a prince of great hopes. The king was never ſo deeply affected by any incident in his life. The Princeſs of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the reſtoration of her family, with whom ſhe lived in great friendſhip, ſoon after ſickened and died. The queen-mother paid a viſit to her ſon, and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the Princeſs Henrietta with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French king. The parliament having met on the ſixth of November, and carried on buſineſs with the greateſt unanimity and diſpatch, were diſſolved by the king on the 29th of December, 1660.

During the reign of Charles II. the ſpirit of the people ſeemed to take a turn quite oppoſite to that in the time of Charles I. The latter found his ſubjects animated with a ferocious though ignorant zeal for liberty. They knew not what it was to be free, and therefore imagined that liberty conſiſted in throwing off entirely the royal authority. They gained their point: the unhappy monarch was dethroned and murdered; but, inſtead of liberty, they found themſelves involved in much worſe tyranny than before. Being happily freed from this tyranny by the reſtoration, they ran into the contrary extreme; and, inſtead of an unbounded ſpirit of oppoſition, there was nothing now to be found but as unbounded a ſpirit of ſubmiſſion; and, through the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſions and conceſſions of the people in this reign, Charles found means to render himſelf at laſt almoſt quite abſolute, and to govern without requiring, or indeed without having any occaſion for parliament.

A like revolution took place with regard to religious matters. During the former reigns a ſpirit of the moſt gloomy

gloomy enthuſiaſm had overſpread the whole iſland, and men imagined that the Deity was only to be pleaſed by their denying themſelves every ſocial pleaſure, and refuſing every thing that tended to make life agreeable. The extreme hypocriſy of Cromwell and his aſſociates, and the abſurd conduct of others, ſhewed that this was not religion; but, in avoiding this error, they ran into one equally dangerous; and every thing religious or ſerious was diſcountenanced. Nothing but riot and diſſipation took place every where. The court ſet them the example; nothing but ſcenes of gallantry and feſtivity were to be ſeen; the horrors of the late war became the ſubject of ridicule; the formality of the ſectaries was diſplayed on the ſtage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. In ſhort, the beſt mode of religion now was to have as little as poſſible; and to avoid not only the hypocriſy of the ſectaries, but even the common duties of morality.

In the midſt of this riot and diſſipation, the old and faithful followers of the royal family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought both for the king and his father, and who had loſt their whole fortunes in his ſervice, ſtill continued to pine in want and oblivion; while in the mean time their perſecutors, who had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were permitted to enjoy them without moleſtation. The wretched royaliſts petitioned and murmured in vain; the monarch fled from their expoſtulations to ſcenes of mirth and feſtivity; and the act of indemnity was generally ſaid to have been an act of *forgiveneſs* to the king's enemies, and of *oblivion* to his friends.

In 1661, the Scots and Engliſh parliaments ſeemed to vie with each other in their proſtrations to the king. In England, monarchy and epiſcopacy were raiſed to the greateſt ſplendour. The biſhops were permitted to reſume their ſeats in the houſe of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be veſted in the king. He was empowered to appoint commiſſioners for re-

gulating corporations, and expelling ſuch members as had intruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles dangerous to the conſtitution. An act of uniformity was paſſed, by which it was required that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; that he ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer, and ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience. In conſequence of this law, above two thouſand of the preſbyterian clergy reſigned their cures at once. In Scotland the right of the king was aſſerted in the fulleſt and moſt poſitive terms to be hereditary, divine, and indefeaſible. His power was extended to the lives and poſſeſſions of his ſubjects, and from his original grant was ſaid to come all that they enjoyed. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thouſand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with a degree of the utmoſt deteſtation.

Notwithſtanding the liberal proviſion which the parliament had made for their king, ſtill his prodigality rendered him indigent; and, inſtead of deſiring an aſcendancy over his parliament, he was content to be dependent on their bounty. His prodigality, his libertiniſm, and the familiarity with which he permitted himſelf to be treated by his ſubjects, ſoon began to alter their ſentiments, from a veneration for royalty, to a contempt of his perſon and adminiſtration; and this was preſently increaſed, by a ſhameful ſacrifice of the intereſt of the nation, for his private advantage. In conſideration of five millions of livres, (about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling,) he delivered up to Louis XIV. of France, the town and port of Dunkirk; and likewiſe the fort of Mardyke, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, &c. The excuſe which Charles gave to his parliament for this conduct was, that, as it had been ſurrendered to Cromwell, an uſurper, he had a right to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed. This deſtructive bargain was concluded at London,

London, by the Count d'Eſtrades, on the ſide of France, and the Earl of Clarendon, chancellor, the Earl of Southampton, lord-treaſurer, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich, who had received a commiſſion from the king for that purpoſe. The latter of theſe noblemen at firſt propoſed the abſolute demolition of Dunkirk, and the filling up and deſtroying its harbour, in ſuch a manner, as to render it for ever uſeleſs; but this was not inſiſted on in the farther proſecution of the buſineſs. No ſooner had the French king taken poſſeſſion of this important place, than he employed thirty thouſand men to work upon the fortifications, on the ſide towards the land, as well as to the ſea: he likewiſe formed, between the town and citadel, a large baſon, capable of receiving thirty ſhips of war; ſo that, ſays Voltaire, this place became a terror to the Engliſh, almoſt as ſoon as they had ſold it. From this time, (Auguſt 17th, 1662,) Charles found himſelf perpetually oppoſed, and his parliament granted ſupplies much more reluctantly than before.

A few months before, the continual exigencies of the king had forced him to conclude a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal for the ſake of her portion, which was five hundred thouſand pounds in money, together with the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. The Chancellor Clarendon, the Dukes of Ormond and Southampton, urged many reaſons againſt this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; but all their objections could not prevail, and therefore Clarendon ſet himſelf to promote it as far as lay in his power.

A fleet was ſent, under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, to bring over the queen, and to take poſſeſſion of Tangiers. Beſides theſe avowed purpoſes, for which this armament was ſent out, it was farther deſigned to chaſtiſe the Algerine corſairs, for their infraction of the treaty entered into with Blake. For this purpoſe, the earl appeared with his fleet before

Algiers, the 29th of July, 1661, and sent an officer to the dey with a letter from the king, accompanied with one from himself. These remonstrances, and this armament, made no impression on that state. It seemed even to set the English admiral, and his force, at defiance, by putting the port and castles in the best state of defence. Sandwich hereupon attempted to set fire to the ships in the harbour; but the wind being unfavourable to the attempt, after furious cannonading on both sides, without any essential hurt being done to either, the English admiral thought fit to desist; and, leaving Sir John Lawson to cruise, with a strong squadron, off the harbour, to protect the English trade, and harrass the enemy, he sailed, with the rest of his fleet for Lisbon. The vigilance of Lawson on this station annoyed the Algerines more than the attack upon their port; for so many of their ships were taken, that they were at last compelled to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, and to give up all right of searching its ships; but this treaty, like the former one, was not long observed.

The king's marriage had laid no sort of restraint on his indiscriminate amours; his queen, though a virtuous princess, could never gain the affection of her husband; he had been captivated by her portion, and, having secured that, was quite indifferent to the woman. At this time his favourite mistress was Mrs. Palmer, whom he afterwards created Duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, and revengeful. She entertained a strong dislike to Clarendon, who was a man too tenacious of the dignity of his own character to pay his court to this haughty concubine. Out of revenge for such neglect of the minister, she exerted all her influence with the king to undermine this his trusty servant; and in the attempt she was so successful as to lay the foundation of his disgrace.

Still,

Still, however, the king's neceſſities were greater than his ſupplies. In 1663, an extraordinary ſupply was demanded: the king ſent for the commons, on the 12th of June, to Whitehall. He complained of their inattention; and, by acquainting them of a conſpiracy to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, he hoped to furniſh a reaſon for demanding a preſent ſupply. Four ſubſidies were immediately granted, and the clergy in convocation followed the example of the commons. On this occaſion the Earl of Briſtol ventured to impeach the chancellor Clarendon in the houſe of peers; but, as he did not ſupport his charge, the affair was dropped for the preſent.

In the month of April 1664, the houſe of commons, having taken into conſideration the obſtacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs, indignities, and affronts, offered by the Dutch in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, as well as on the coaſt of Africa, to the ſubjects of England, had, in a great meaſure, obſtructed the trade of the nation. They thereupon farther voted, that his majeſty ſhould be entreated to procure reparation for thoſe wrongs, and take meaſures for preventing ſuch injuries for the future; for which purpoſe the two houſes would aſſiſt him to their utmoſt, againſt all oppoſers. This was a prelude to a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for ſome time determined, as he ſought an opportunity of ſpending upon his pleaſures a part of thoſe ſums which ſhould be granted him by parliament for the ſupport of a fleet and army. The charges alleged againſt the Dutch were extremely frivolous; they were accuſed of having taken Engliſh ſhips in the Eaſt Indies; but they pleaded that thoſe ſhips had been employed in carrying on a clandeſtine trade, and the ſtates had actually depoſited a ſum of money, exceeding the value of them, until the Engliſh court of admiralty could determine the merits of the cauſe: ſo that it is plain, that the war did not owe its origin to ſuch cauſes.

There

There were yet other conſiderations beſides the poverty of the crown, which concurred in producing this rupture with Holland: Charles delighted in ſhip-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy that ſhould give law to all the maritime ſtates in Europe; the Duke of York ardently wiſhed for an opportunity to diſplay his courage and ſkill in his department of lord high-admiral againſt the Dutch, whom he hated; not only for the republican principles which they entertained, but as being a principal ſupport to the Proteſtant religion: the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as their moſt dangerous rivals in commerce; and the Royal African company, at the head of which was the Duke of York, had been thwarted by theſe Hollanders, in their deſigns of fixing ſettlements to promote and ſerve their trade on the coaſt of Guinea.

Hoſtilities broke out between theſe two rival powers in Africa and America, without any formal declaration of war on either ſide. Sir Robert Holmes was ſent out with a fleet to the coaſt of Africa, where he diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of ſeveral forts near Cape Verd; but all theſe poſſeſſions De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral the year after, re-took. The Engliſh admiral erected new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it James-fort; and this is ſtill poſſeſſed by the Engliſh.

Theſe actions ſerved to exaſperate the two ſtates, and to precipitate a war, which, accordingly, was declared by the Dutch in January, and by the Engliſh in February, 1664-5. Great preparations were made for war; the city of London lent the king one hundred thouſand pounds, and, when he repreſented that ſum as inadequate to the purpoſes it was meant to ſerve, they readily advanced a like ſum. A great fleet was fitted out under the command of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Sandwich, which ſailing over to the coaſts of Holland, ſtruck an univerſal terror into the Dutch; notwithſtanding, they alſo

alſo had aſſembled a capital fleet under their Admiral Opdam, but they dared not put to ſea with it, and face the Engliſh. While their harbours were thus blocked up, a great part of their fleet from Bourdeaux, in its way home, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, who, in a few weeks, took above one hundred and thirty of their merchant ſhips. About this time a Dutch fleet, richly laden, from Smyrna, was attacked near Cadiz, by Vice-admiral Allen, with nine men of war, and frigates. The Dutch force conſiſted in forty merchant ſhips, large, and well provided with ordnance, and four third-rate men of war. In the engagement the Dutch commodore, Brackel, was killed, and four of the richeſt ſhips taken; one of which afterwards foundered at ſea. The reſt were forced into the bay of Cadiz, where they were, for ſome time, blocked up.

After the grand fleet of England had lain on the coaſts of Holland for a month, a violent ſtorm ſo ſhattered it, as to force it into port to refit. The Dutch availed themſelves of this opportunity to proceed to ſea in ſeven ſquadrons; Opdam baron de Waſſenaer commanded the firſt, which was compoſed of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; John Everts commanded the ſecond, which was equal in force; the third was led by Admiral Cortenaer, and conſiſted of fourteen men of war, and one fire-ſhip; the fourth was under Stillinguert, compoſed likewiſe of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ſhip; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, ſon of the brave and memorable admiral of that name, with ſixteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; the ſixth, under Cornelius Everts, conſiſted of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ſhip; the laſt, commanded by Schram, in which were ſixteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; in all, one hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ſhips, together with ſeven yachts. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen

teen ſail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ſhips and ketches, and had about twenty-two thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on-board. The whole was commanded by the Duke of York, as lord high-admiral; Prince Rupert was vice-admiral of the white, and the Earl of Sandwich of the blue.

Soon after the Dutch fleet had put to ſea, they fell in with the Engliſh Hamburgh fleet, which, ſuppoſing the Duke of York, with his fleet, to be ſtill on their ſtation, fell into the hands of the Dutch, together with their convoy; the value of the whole was eſtimated at two hundred thouſand pounds.

The duke, highly incenſed at this loſs, reſolved to revenge it on the enemy; and, with a view to bring them to an engagement, weighed anchor from Solebay the firſt of June. The Engliſh fleet was divided into three ſquadrons; the firſt, under the red flag, was commanded by the duke himſelf, aſſiſted by the Admirals Penn and Lawſon; the ſecond, being the white ſquadron, was under the conduct of Prince Rupert, aſſiſted by Minns and Sampſon; and the third, which was the blue ſquadron, was under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, who had with him Cuttins, and Sir George Ayſcue. They got ſight of the Dutch fleet the ſame day, not far from Harwich; but the wind being ſoutherly, and the next morning ſouth-weſt, they retired before our fleet to the mouth of the Maeſe: from thence Opdam ſent an expreſs to the ſtates, giving them his reaſon for his retreat, and, informing them, that he did not judge it proper to fall upon the Engliſh while they had the advantage of the wind. In anſwer to which the ſtates ſent him poſitive orders, to engage at all events.

Opdam reſolved to obey the orders of his maſters, though contrary to the opinion and advice of moſt of his officers, and his own opinion: "I am, ſaid he, (on hearing the judgment of a council of war,) entirely in your ſentiment, but here are my orders. To-

morrow my head ſhall be bound with laurel, or with cypreſs." And in this diſpoſition he advanced towards the Engliſh fleet.

This memorable battle began on the third of June, at three in the morning, and was furiouſly ſupported on both ſides till noon, without any material advantage gained by either. The Earl of Sandwich, with the blue ſquadron, firſt gave a turn to the fortune of the day, by falling into the centre of the Dutch fleet, and ſeparating it into two parts. This threw the enemy into ſuch confuſion, as brought on a general flight. Meanwhile the Duke of York, in the Royal Charles, a ſhip of eighty guns, and Admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, of eighty-four guns, were cloſely engaged. The fight continued for ſome hours with great obſtinacy, during which the duke was expoſed to great danger. The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle ſecond ſon to the Earl of Burlington, were all killed by his ſide, by the ſame chain-ſhot, and were ſo near the duke at the time, that he was covered with their blood and brains; and the Dutch writers ſay, that a ſplinter of Mr. Boyle's ſkull wounded him in the hand. In the heat of this deſperate action the Dutch admiral blew up; and of five hundred men, among whom were a great number of volunteers, of the beſt families in Holland, only five were ſaved. Soon after this fatal ſtroke to the Dutch, four of their choiceſt ſhips, from ſixty to forty guns, ran foul of each other, and were ſet on fire, and conſumed, by one fire-ſhip; three larger men of war ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate, by the ſame means. The Orange, a ſhip of ſeventy-five guns, after a moſt gallant defence, was alſo burnt, with four hundred men on-board, by Captain Smith, of the Mary. By this time the whole Dutch fleet ſeemed to be but one blaze, and the cries of ſo many miſerable wretches, who were periſhing either by fire or water, forced the moſt inflexible to pity. The Engliſh rendered all the aſſiſtance in their power to their

vanquiſhed enemy, while, with redoubled fury, they aſſailed the reſt. Two of the Dutch vice-admirals, Stellingaert and Cortenaer, were killed. Their ſhips bearing out of the line without ſtriking their flags, on the death of their commanders, drew many after them; ſo that by eight at night, Tromp, who ſtill bravely maintained the fight, and that even whilſt retreating, had not above thirty ſhips to ſupport him. This was the moſt ſignal victory the Engliſh ever gained, and the ſevereſt blow the Dutch ever felt, at ſea. The Dutch are reckoned to have had eighteen ſhips taken, and fourteen ſunk in the action, beſides ſuch as were ſunk and blown up: they loſt ſix thouſand men, upwards of two thouſand of whom were made priſoners, ſixteen of whom were captains. On the ſide of the Engliſh only one ſhip was loſt; the Charity, of forty-ſix guns: no more than two hundred and fifty men were killed, and about three hundred and forty wounded; but many of high rank fell in this action, beſides thoſe already named; ſuch as the Earls of Portland and Marlborough, Rear-admiral Sampſon, and Vice-admiral Lawſon; the latter of whom died of a wound he received in his knee, altho' he ſurvived the battle.

It is affirmed, and with ſome appearance of reaſon, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been iſſued to ſlacken ſail by Brounker, an attendant upon the duke, whilſt his highneſs ſlept, and who pretended authority from his maſter. The duke diſclaimed the orders, but Brounker was never ſufficiently puniſhed for his preſumption. Dutch writers expreſs their aſtoniſhment, that the Engliſh did not puſh on their good fortune; and ſeem to acknowledge, that, had they done ſo, the whole Dutch fleet muſt have become their prey. The Duke of York, ſailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thankſgiving to be obſerved all over England

for this victory; and medals were ſtruck in honour of the Duke of York, who thereupon became the idol of the nation, and began to be reſpected as the preſumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was ſuppoſed barren, and almoſt totally neglected by her huſband. The king and council would not ſuffer the duke to expoſe his perſon to the danger of a ſecond engagement; whereupon the command of the fleet devolved upon the Earl of Sandwich.

The Dutch Turkey and India fleets had choſen the northern route, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh fleet under the Earl of Sandwich; which fleet, July the fifth, ſteered from Southwold Bay (into which they put after the engagement) for the coaſt of Holland, with a deſign to intercept theſe merchant-ſhips when entering their ports. But they having intelligence at ſea, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to avoid the Engliſh navy, took ſhelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway. The port was not difficult of acceſs, being only covered by an old caſtle; the Daniſh governor aſſured the Dutch of all the protection in his power to give, and they were willing to contribute their ſtrength in aid of it. In order to this they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were diſpoſed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line acroſs the bay, conſiſting of their largeſt ſhips; in this poſture they waited for the Engliſh. It was not long before they appeared; for the Earl of Sandwich, having advice of their being put into Bergen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman, his rear-admiral, with fourteen ſail of men of war, and three fire-ſhips, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was againſt them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the caſtle, the line, and the ſhips; ſo that at laſt he was obliged to bear out of the bay; and this he performed without the loſs of a ſhip, though he had five or ſix very ill treated.

The Dutch were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the defeat of their grand fleet, and demanded of De Witt, who was the ſoul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen. He therefore went on-board the fleet, which he took under his command, and ſoon recovered his country from the diſorder into which they had been thrown. The genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature. He quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs as if he had been educated in them from his infancy; and he even made improvements in ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing beyond what men, expert in thoſe arts, had ever been able to attain. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of this fleet; though De Witt was the main ſpring that gave motion to the whole.

No ſooner was the Dutch fleet again ready for ſea, than it proceeded to ſuccour their Eaſt-India fleet, then lying at Bergen, and to bring it home in ſafety. The King of Denmark had acted a very extraordinary part in the quarrel between England and Holland. He made a ſecret agreement with Charles to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbours, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in executing this meaſure. In order to increaſe his prey, he had perfidiouſly invited the Dutch to take ſhelter in his ports; but we have ſeen the repulſe which the Engliſh received when they made their attack upon the Hollanders; after which the Daniſh governor demanded of the Dutch one hundred thouſand crowns for the aſſiſtance he had given them in that affair; and threatened to ſink them, if they attempted to ſail without firſt paying this debt. The arrival of De Ruyter's fleet before Bergen lowered the tone of the governor, and the Dutch merchantmen were permitted to ſail without paying the ſum which had been before exacted. On their return to Holland the fleet was ſcattered by a ſtorm, which ſunk two fire-ſhips, and ſome of the merchant-

merchantmen. The vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the Eaſt-India fleet, ſhips of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five Engliſh frigates, which the ſame ſtorm had ſeparated from the fleet to which they belonged; and ſoon after four Dutch men of war, two fire-ſhips, and thirty merchantmen, joined the Engliſh fleet inſtead of their own, and were captured; which ended the operations of the year 1665.

Louis XIV. beheld, with pleaſure, the two maritime powers mutually deſtroying each other, by the moſt obſtinate combats that were ever fought; the only conſequences from which were, the weakening of both parties. By the ſignal ſucceſſes which had attended the Engliſh arms on the ocean this year, France began to apprehend either the total ruin of Holland, or that the ſtates would be obliged to accede to any peace which their conquerors might think fit to dictate. To prevent either of theſe conſequences, the French court openly declared in favour of Holland. No ſooner was this ſtep taken, than every artifice was employed to rekindle the rage of party in England. Thoſe of republican principles were ſecretly tampered with; and General Ludlow, who had fled his country to eſcape the fate of the regicides, was ſolicited to head an army deſigned to dethrone the king; Denmark was alſo brought to declare in favour of the Dutch.

Charles endeavoured to counterbalance theſe confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He ſent an extraordinary envoy into Spain, who met with a very cold reception at that court. Notwithſtanding that kingdom was ſunk into a ſtate of weakneſs, and was menaced with an invaſion from France, yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a friendly alliance with England. The marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Portugal; the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers; the ſale of Dunkirk to the French; all theſe circumſtances ſunk ſo deep in the mind of the Spaniſh monarch, that no motive of intereſt

reſt was ſufficient to outweigh them. Bernard Van Galen biſhop of Munſter, was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, who was a man of reſtleſs enterpriſe and ambition, had entertained a violent animoſity againſt the ſtates; and he was eaſily engaged, by a promiſe of ſubſidies from England, to make an incurſion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near twenty thouſand men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak reſiſtance. The land forces of the ſtates were as feeble and ill-governed as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But, after his committing great ravages in ſeveral of the provinces, a ſtop was put to the progreſs of this warlike prelate. He wanted military ſkill to enable him to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands. The French king had ſent a body of ſix thouſand men to oppoſe him; ſubſidies were not regularly remitted him from England, and many of his troops deſerted for want of pay. The Elector of Brandenburg threatened him with an invaſion in his own biſhopric; and, thus circumſtanced, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the firſt ſurmiſe of his intention, Sir William Temple was ſent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance, but found that he arrived too late.

This aſpect of affairs filled the Dutch with hopes of retrieving their miſcarriages, and cauſed an unanimity in their councils, which greatly aſſiſted the operations of the war. They conſidered the Engliſh as the aggreſſors in this quarrel, and were thereby ſtimulated to revenge. The ſpirit of the Engliſh, on the other hand, was no ways ſunk at the proſpect of their accumulated enemies, and even though both natural and accidental calamities, at the ſame time, viſited them internally; a plague ravaged London, which ſwept off near one hundred thouſand of its inhabitants; and, ſoon after, the city was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a conflagration, which raged for three days without intermiſſion.

termiſſion. One advantage England poſſeſſed in carrying on the war againſt her confederated enemies from her ſituation, which enabled her to prevent the junction of their fleets; but no benefit was derived, in the iſſue, from this local ſuperiority.

In the beginning of February Charles returned to London, from whence he had haſtily departed on the appearance of the plague. The command of the naval armaments was now given to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle; the former, with a fleet of forty ſhips, ſailed in queſt of the Duke of Beaufort, the French Admiral, who was ſaid to be at Belleiſle, with thirty-ſix ſhips, and about to enter the Channel, and form a junction with the Dutch. Soon after the prince had carried off ſo conſiderable a part of the grand fleet of England, De Ruyter appeared between Nieuport and Dunkirk, at the head of ſeventy-one ſail of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ſhips, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. Albemarle, though greatly inferior in force, did not heſitate what to do, but bore down upon them with great gallantry. The Dutch captains were not at all backward to come into action, for many cut their cables in order to engage.

On the firſt day of June, 1666, the battle began with incredible fury. Tromp, and after him De Ruyter, were obliged to ſhift their flags, becauſe their ſhips had ſuſtained ſuch damage they were in danger of ſinking: one of their fleet was blown up, and Admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. To counterbalance this, Sir William Berkley, who led the Engliſh van, was driven into the midſt of the enemy, where his ſhip, being aſſailed on all ſides, was taken, after a gallant reſiſtance, in which he was ſlain. One or two Engliſh ſhips were ſunk, notwithſtanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and activity of a youthful warrior. Night parted the combatants; but

next

next day, the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with increaſed fury. Van Tromp, having engaged himſelf too far within the Engliſh line, had well nigh been taken, but for the effectual ſupport which De Ruyter afforded him. Theſe two admirals were of oppoſite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inſpired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and reſolution; neither deſirous of building his own fame on the ruin of his rival. Whilſt the fate the two fleets was thus ſuſpended, the Dutch received a reinforcement of ſixteen ſhips; at the ſame time that the Engliſh fleet was ſo ſhattered, as that no more than twenty-eight ſail remained fit for ſervice. Albemarle was hereupon obliged to retreat towards his own coaſts, whither the Dutch followed him, and, towards night, came up with him; but a ſudden calm forced the irritated combatants to a ſuſpenſion of arms. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous diſpoſition, ſent the diſabled ſhips a-head, while he himſelf remained in the rear with thoſe that were ſtill capable of ſervice, ſo as to form a line aſtern occaſionally, for the reception of the purſuers. About two, when the Dutch were almoſt within gunſhot, the duke deſcried Prince Rupert and his ſquadron to the ſouthward, (who had been deluded by a falſe report of the appearance of the French fleet, deſignedly thrown out,) crowding all their ſails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to ſtrike on the Galloper Sands, where he was ſurrounded and taken. The two Engliſh fleets, having joined, prepared for another engagement, and the next morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them with a determined firmneſs. A fourth battle enſued, which was maintained with equal rage and deſperation on both ſides, and was continued until a thick fog intervened, which prevented the farther continuance of the conflict. The Engliſh, having

having ſuffered greatly, ſeized this opportunity to retire, with conſiderable loſs.

Both ſides claimed the victory; but the Dutch muſt be allowed to have borne away the wreath, although no glory was loſt by the party which was worſted. The penſioner De Witt acknowledged, upon this occaſion, "that, if the Engliſh were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; the Dutch fleet could never have been brought to engage after ſuch a fight as was on the firſt day; and he believed none but the Engliſh could; and all that the Dutch had diſcovered was, that Engliſhmen might be killed, and Engliſh ſhips burnt, but that Engliſh courage was invincible."

The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh in theſe ſucceſſive battles, which were the moſt terrible that had been fought this war, or perhaps in any other, is computed at ſixteen men of war, of which ten were ſunk, and ſix taken. In the laſt day's engagement fell the brave Admiral Minnas, who, though he had received a ſhot in the neck, ſtill kept upon deck, and iſſued out his orders for upwards of an hour, ſtopping the flow of blood with his fingers; till another ſhot pierced his throat, and deprived him of life. The Engliſh writers ſay, that the Dutch loſt fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thouſand men; themſelves own the loſs of nine ſhips, and that there was a prodigious ſlaughter of their ſeamen. The loſs of men, which the Engliſh ſuſtained, was very conſiderable, though not equal to that of their enemy. The Dutch however compute it at between five and ſix thouſand. The Duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his temerity, and for the contempt in which he held the Dutch. He ſeems to have entertained the ſame ſentiments with Blake, who conſidered fighting as always to be preferred to running away, in a nation that claimed the dominion of the ſea; and, if one or two inſtances bear hard upon this doctrine, yet it is ſurely right in the

general, and has been productive of the moſt happy conſequences. "It is enough," ſays Dr. Campbell, "that we live in cooler times, when men may be heroes upon more moderate terms."

The Dutch were firſt at ſea after this action, and De Ruyter poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. The Engliſh, under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the ſeamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and, during the heat of the action, he was ſeparated from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or deſign was never certainly known. De Ruyter with conduct and valour maintained the combat againſt the main body of the Engliſh; and, though overpowered by numbers, kept his ſtation till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſcouraged, his high ſpirit ſubmitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with ſuch ſkill, as to render it equally honourable to himſelf as the greateſt victory. Full of indignation however, at yielding the ſuperiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I! Among ſo many thouſand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miſerable life?" One De Witt, his ſon-in-law, who ſtood near, exhorted him, ſince he ſought death, to turn upon the Engliſh, and to render his life a dear purchaſe to the victors. But De Ruyter eſteemed it more worthy a brave man to perſevere to the uttermoſt, and, as long as poſſible, to render ſervice to his country. All that night, and next day, the Engliſh preſſed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled

efforts

efforts of De Ruyter, that the latter ſaved themſelves in their harbours.

The Engliſh now rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch on their coaſts. The two great admirals of the ſtates, De Ruyter and Van Tromp, mutually accuſed each other of being the cauſe of the defeat. The Dutch are ſaid to have loſt twenty ſhips in this action; four of their admirals were killed, ſeveral captains, and near four thouſand private men. The Engliſh are ſaid to have loſt only one ſhip, the Reſolution, which was burnt; three captains were killed, and only about three hundred private men. The populace in Holland had been made to believe, that the naval ſtrength of England had been effectually broken by the actions in June, and that the Dutch fleet would bear down all before it; their conſternation therefore at this fatal reverſe was increaſed in proportion to the degree that their hopes had been raiſed. Their rage received a yet farther increaſe by a new misfortune.

On the 29th of July, the Engliſh fleet ſteered its courſe for Ulie; but, the wind being contrary, it did not make the iſland till the 7th of Auguſt. Being then come to an anchor, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithſtanding there were very rich ſtore-houſes on the iſlands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; hereupon it was reſolved to attack them forthwith. [Ulie is an iſland from whence the Dutch fleets uſually ſail to the Baltic; it has the Texel and Schelling on the north.]

A council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for this great attempt. There it was determined that three hundred men ſhould be drawn out of each ſquadron, two-thirds landmen and one-third ſeamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the command of Sir Ro-

bert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red; with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in caſe it was found expedient to attack both iſlands at once, was to command one diviſion. The ſhips appointed for this entepriſe were five fourth and three fifth rates, five fire-ſhips, and ſeven ketches. On the eighth of Auguſt, about ſeven in the morning, this ſquadron weighed, divided from the reſt of the fleet, and came to an anchor about a league from the buoys, where they met the prince's pleaſure boat, called the Fanfan, who had diſcovered in the harbour a conſiderable fleet of ſhips near Ulie, which proved to be one hundred and ſeventy merchant-ſhips, the leaſt of which was not leſs than two hundred tons burthen, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed near an hundred of the ſaid ſhips. The whole were richly laden. Sir Robert Holmes conſidering, that if he ſhould proceed, as his deſign was, firſt to attempt a deſcent on the land, that numerous fleet might poſſibly pour in ſuch numbers of men, as might render their ſucceſs hazardous, reſolved to begin with the ſhips; accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampſhire to lie without the buoys, he weighed with the reſt of the fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he returned, with great difficulty, into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor; and immediately Sir Robert went on-board the Fanfan, and hoiſted his flag; upon which the officers came on-board him; and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke, which drew the leaſt water, with the five fire-ſhips, ſhould immediately fall in amongſt the enemy's fleet. Captain Brown, with his fire-ſhip, choſe, very bravely, to lay the biggeſt man of war on-board, and burnt it downright. Another fire-ſhip running up, at the ſame time, to the other man of war, they, backing their ſails, eſcaped the preſent execution of the fire-ſhip; but ſo as to run themſelves on ground, where the ſhip was preſently taken by ſome of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ſhips clapped

slapped the three great merchantmen on-board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion; which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on-board again; and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy, all they could; but with a strict command not to plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share; some twelve, some fifteen, merchantmen; that of the whole fleet there escaped not above eight or nine ships; one of which was a Guinea-man of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, protected four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where our boats could not possibly come at them; though even these few were much damaged. The next day, which was the tenth of August, it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon Ulie; which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats, which he landed with little or no opposition. When he came on-shore he left one company to secure his boats, and with the other ten marched three miles up into the country, to the capital town, called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of one thousand fine houses; where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to that place; but, finding them a little slow to execute that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in the pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten the men away. The fire burnt with such violence, that in half an hour most part of the town was in a blaze. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich; and the booty which some of the soldiers made

made there confirms such account. This blow greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered the loss of near six millions of guilders; and, were we to take the ships into this computation, they confess, that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or one million one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The English however were still more visited with calamities than the states of Holland; at one time they groaned under three as great evils as can befal mankind; war, pestilence, and famine. On the third of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's house, near London-bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it had laid in ashes the greatest part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be melancholy spectators of their own ruin, and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprising violence, and destroyed eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. Yet the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London soon rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of prerogative, regulated the distribution of the buildings, and forbade the use of lath and timber, of which the houses were before composed; and many of the streets being built wider, admitted a greater circulation of air; by which means London became more healthy. Hence the plague, which used to break out with great fury once or twice every century, has never since appeared in the city.

A war carried on with such vigour as that between England and Holland, was likely to be soon brought

to

to some issue; accordingly, by the end of this year, all parties began heartily to wish for peace. The Dutch, notwithstanding their defeats, improved every day in military skill. Though their trade had suffered extremely, yet their extensive credit enabled them to procure large sums; and, while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money, and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English; and Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war which had proved both fruitless and destructive. A treaty was therefore set on foot at Breda. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of a peace seemed the certain consequence of a negociation; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors there to discuss. In this situation Charles, willing to retrench the expences of the state, in order to enrich his private coffers, laid up a considerable part of his navy; by which shameful breach of duty to his people, he exposed England to one of the greatest affronts which she had ever received.

The pensionary De Witt, partly by himself in person, and farther by agents employed for that purpose, had sounded the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it would be practicable to make an attempt there with large ships; and, having gained information favourable to his designs, he resolved to execute them, notwithstanding the negociations for a peace were in so good a train. The French secretly countenanced the undertaking. In the spring of the year 1667, De Witt caused a large fleet to be got ready, under a pretence of attacking some Scottish privateers that had greatly annoyed the vessels of Holland. Accordingly,

cordingly, Admiral Van Ghent was ſent into the Frith of Forth; whilſt another fleet was manned with great ſecrecy and diſpatch, the command of which was given to De Ruyter, on-board of which were put pilots who were well acquainted with the navigation of the river Thames. Meanwhile the ſupine miniſtry of Charles were never once awakened into ſuſpicion. The Dutch fleet, as ſoon as ready, ſailed for the Engliſh coaſt, where it was joined by Van Ghent's ſquadron; the whole conſiſting of ſeventy men of war, beſides fire-ſhips. A detachment from this fleet was then ſent up the river Thames, which, on the tenth of June, attacked Sheerneſs, which was, at that time, unfiniſhed, and in no ſtate of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a conſiderable quantity of naval ſtores. No ſooner was the alarm given, than the Duke of Albemarle haſtened, with the commanding officers, to the defence of the river Medway; to ſecure which, they ſunk ſhips at the entrance, threw a chain acroſs, and placed three large veſſels, which had been taken from the Dutch, behind the chain. A ſtrong eaſterly wind favoured this attempt of De Ruyter, and determined him to try to burn the ſhips which lay at Chatham, in ſpite of the precautions taken to preſerve them. To effect this, the chain which guarded the entrance of the harbour was firſt to be broken; and this was performed with great gallantry by one of his officers. An impetuous attack was then made upon the ſhips which defended the entrance of the harbour, and, at length, they were ſet on fire; and with this exploit they cloſed the firſt day's attack. The next morning, the wind ſtill blowing full into the harbour, the Dutch advanced as high as Upnor-caſtle, with ſix men of war and two fire-ſhips. But here they met with ſo warm a reception that they were obliged to retreat. In their way back they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ſhip, and in her Captain Douglas, who was appointed to defend it. This brave man, receiving no orders to retire

when the ſhip was in flames, ſaid, "It ſhall never be ſaid that a Douglas quitted his poſt without orders;" and reſolutely continued on board, and was burnt with the ſhip. It is pity that ſo brave a man ſhould ſacrifice his life to a punctilio, an adherence to which could not poſſibly render his country any ſervice. The Dutch carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh fought manfully to preſerve. In this retreat two Dutch men of war ran aſhore in the Medway, and were burnt; which, with eight fire-ſhips conſumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loſs which their writers acknowledge, though they might probably ſuffer much more.

The city of London was filled with terror at this daring enterprize; it was apprehended that, when the Dutch fleet was returned from the Medway, it would, with the next tide, ſail up the Thames, quite to that capital. Nine ſhips were thereupon ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; platforms, provided with artillery, were raiſed in many places, and the trained bands drawn out. But De Ruyter did not realize theſe apprehenſions, but ſailed back to the mouth of the Thames, where he left Admiral Van Nes with a part of his fleet, while he himſelf proceeded with the reſt to Portſmouth, with a view to commit the like depredations there; but he was repulſed: he then directed his courſe to Torbay, where he took ſome Engliſh veſſels; but was again repulſed when he attempted to land. He made as unſucceſsful an attempt upon Plymouth; then, ſailing back through the Channel, appeared off Harwich, and fired ſome ſhot at Languard fort; but was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. Many ſharp actions happened between the Dutch fleet, and the Engliſh commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, in which, upon the whole, the former ſuſtained the moſt damage and loſs, but not ſufficient to cauſe them to quit the coaſts, where they continued till the peace was ſigned at Breda.---No king that merited the crown he

wore, would have concluded a peace whilſt this inſolent attack remained unrevenged; but Charles was as indifferent about the honour of the nation as he was of his own reputation.

The nation was highly incenſed, to ſee an enemy whom they conſidered as beaten, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now, all at once, ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean; burn their ſhips in their very harbours, fill every place with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But though the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence, of government, yet no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who, upon that ſuppoſition, had been treated with great ſeverity.

Three diſtinct treaties of peace were ſigned at Breda, the 10th of July, 1667, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the Engliſh miniſter. Hereby the iſland of Poleroon, in the Eaſt-Indies, was ceded to the Dutch; an indemnification for the ſhips Bonaventure and Good-Hope, the pretended grounds of the war, was no longer inſiſted on; Acadie, or Acadia, which the Engliſh call Nova-Scotia, was moſt impoliticly yielded to France. The acquiſition of New-York was the chief advantage the Engliſh derived from a war, in which the national character of bravery had ſhone out with luſtre, but where the miſconduct of government, eſpecially in the concluſion, had been no leſs apparent. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had ſold all the merchant-ſhips taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and had embezzled the chief part of the laſt ſupply which had been granted him

him for carrying on the war; while his brother, grown ſick of fighting, from the deſperate action in which he had been plunged at the outſet of the war, remained ſafe at home, and, by virtue of his poſt of lord high-admiral, took to himſelf a large ſhare of the prizes which were made; beſides which the parliament voted him a handſome preſent.

The king now thought it neceſſary to make ſome ſacrifice to the diſcontents of his ſubjects, and Clarendon was ſingled out as the ſcape-goat to expiate his maſter's crime. Charles conſidered that nobleman as a troubleſome cenſor, who diſapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleaſures. He was indeed extremely unpopular, and juſtly conſidered as an enemy to all the diſſenters. Beſides this, he was charged with the ſale of Dunkirk; the bad payment of the ſeamen; the diſgrace by the Dutch fleet; and his own ambition. His daughter, while yet in Paris, had commenced an amour with the Duke of York; and under a ſolemn promiſe of marriage had admitted him to her bed. Her lover, however, either of his own accord, or through the perſuaſions of his brother Charles, afterwards married her; and this too was imputed as a crime to Clarendon. On theſe accuſations, the king, who on account of his rigid virtue had never much loved this nobleman, ordered the ſeals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgemen. Clarendon was ſoon after impeached by the commons; and, thinking proper to withdraw, a bill of baniſhment and incapacity was paſſed againſt him; upon which he retired into France, where he lived in a private manner, employing his leiſure chiefly in reducing into order his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. He ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years. Though he had attended the king during his exile, Charles appeared never to have mitigated his reſentment againſt him; that prince was as incapable of friendſhip as he was of gratitude;

his attachments were all ſelfiſh and ſenſual. National prejudices purſued this ſtateſman to his retreat in France. A company of Engliſh ſoldiers, being quartered near him, aſſaulted his houſe, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the laſt extremity, had not their officers, hearing of this violence, happily interpoſed. He lived ſome time after this, till, being ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplexy, he died in the preſence of his ſon.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipſed, either by domeſtic broils, or by the ſuperior force of the Spaniſh monarchy, began now to break out with great luſtre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous ſpirit of the nobility were ſubdued; the popular pretenſions of the parliament were reſtrained; the hugonot party controuled; the extenſive and fertile kingdom of France, enjoying every advantage both of climate and ſituation, was fully peopled with ingenious and induſtrious inhabitants; and, while the ſpirit of the nation diſcovered all the vigour and bravery requiſite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire ſubmiſſion to the will of the reigning prince. The ſovereign, who then filled the throne, was well-adapted, by his perſonal character, both to encreaſe, and avail himſelf of, theſe advantages. Louis XIV. endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, poſſeſſing many which merited the approbation of the wiſe: the maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air: the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeneſs: elegant without effeminacy; addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs; decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power: he ſurpaſſed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, ſo likewiſe in fame and glory. His ambition, regulated by prudence, though not by juſtice, had carefully provided every

every means of conqueſt; and, before he put himſelf in motion, he ſeemed to have abſolutely enſured ſucceſs. His finances were brought into order; a naval power was created; his armies were augmented and diſciplined; magazines and military ſtores were provided; and, though the magnificence of his court was ſupported beyond all former example, ſo regular was the economy obſerved, and ſo willingly did the people, now beginning to be enriched by arts and commerce, ſubmit to multiplied taxes, that his military force was greater than any prince in Europe had ever been maſter of.

The ſudden decline, and almoſt total fall, of the Spaniſh monarchy, opened an inviting field to ſo enterprizing a prince, and ſeemed to promiſe him eaſy and extenſive conqueſts. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were aſtoniſhed at the riſing greatneſs of France; and all of them caſt their eyes upon England, as the only power that could ſave them from the overwhelming greatneſs of France.

The animoſity which had anciently ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and French nations, and which had been ſuſpended for above a century by the jealouſy of Spaniſh greatneſs, began now again to break out. The glory of preſerving the balance of Europe, a glory ſo much founded on juſtice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future ſecurity, by oppoſing the progreſs of ſo hated a rival. The proſpect of embracing ſuch meaſures had been greatly conducive to reconcile them to the inadequate peace which had been entered into.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain, who was father-in-law to Louis XIV. gave the latter a pretext to claim the duchy of Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands, then ſubject to Spain, together with Franche-Compté. The reaſons on which he grounded his pretenſions were very frivolous, but they were ſupported

by the greateſt military force in Europe; a mode of reaſoning which the French monarch thought irreſiſtible. He appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands, with an army of more than forty thouſand men, led on by the moſt eminent generals of the age, and well furniſhed with every requiſite. Such ambition, joined to ſuch power, threatened nothing ſhort of the ſubverſion of the general liberties of Europe; and the United Provinces, as they lay neareſt, were very juſtly firſt alarmed at the impending danger. Louis, apprehenſive that all Europe would combine againſt him, propoſed terms to the Dutch, who were moſt likely to bring about ſuch a confederacy.

The fickle and unſteady temper of Charles was obliged to become determined by the exigencies of the times. He therefore diſpatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambaſſador extraordinary, with full powers to conclude a triple alliance between England, the States-general, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from finiſhing the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands. Temple, whom philoſophy had taught to deſpiſe the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, ſincere, and ſuperior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians; meeting in De Witt a man of the ſame generous and enlarged ſentiments, he immediately opened his maſter's intentions, and preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion. A treaty was, from the firſt, negotiated between theſe two ſtateſmen with the ſame cordiality as if it were a private tranſaction between intimate companions. Deeming the intereſts of their country the ſame, they gave full ſcope to that ſympathy of character, which diſpoſed them to an entire reliance on each other's profeſſions and engagements. And though jealouſy againſt the houſe of Orange might inſpire De Witt with an averſion to a ſtrict union with England, he generouſly reſolved to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the public ſervice. This triple league was concluded in five days, and produced a general

a general treaty of pacification, which was entered into at Aix-la-Chapelle in the month of May following; by which Louis remained in poſſeſſion of all the towns in Flanders, which he had ſubdued; he ſurrendered up Franche-Compté to Spain; and this peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance.

Peace being reſtored, Charles ſent Sir Thomas Allen, with a ſquadron of ſhips, into the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the Algerines, who had taken advantage of the ſituation of England and Holland during the late war, and had ſeized, indiſcriminately, the ſhips of each ſtate. At the ſame time Van Ghent was ſent by the ſtates for the like purpoſe. Theſe two fleets greatly aſſiſted each other in their operations. Many ſhips belonging to theſe pirates were ſunk, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, and a conſiderable number of Chriſtian ſlaves ſet at liberty. At the cloſe of the year 1669, Captain Kempthorne, in the Mary-Roſe, a ſmall frigate, engaged ſeven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to ſheer off. The force under Allen however was found ineffectual for the purpoſe on which it was ſent; ſo that, in the year 1670, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent out with a ſtronger ſquadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruiſed for ſome days before their capital, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands. Upon this he ſailed from thence, with ſix frigates, and three fire-ſhips, to make an attempt upon a conſiderable number of thoſe corſairs, which lay in the haven of Bugia, a ſtrong town to the eaſtward of Algiers. In his paſſage, two of his fire-ſhips were ſeparated from the ſquadron; but this reduction of his ſtrength did not prevent him from proſecuting his purpoſe. Being come before the place, he broke the bomb at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and, notwithſtanding the fire of the caſtle, burnt ſeven of their ſhips, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes:

after

after performing this important ſervice, he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war at Tedelez. Theſe misfortunes cauſed ſuch diſcontents among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and elected another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, on the 9th of December 1671; and, as they were now effectually humbled, they took care to obſerve this peace better than the former ones which they had entered into.

The king now began to act in a very arbitrary manner. He had long wiſhed to extend his prerogative, and to be able to furniſh himſelf with whatever ſums he might want for his pleaſures, and therefore was moſt likely to be pleaſed with thoſe miniſters who could flatter both his wiſhes at once. Theſe he found in Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto diſtinguiſhed by the name of the CABAL; a word formed by the initials of their names. The firſt effects of their advice was a ſecret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland. Soon after this, the Duke of York declared himſelf a papiſt; and liberty of conſcience was proclaimed to all ſectaries, whether diſſenters or papiſts. Theſe things gave very great and juſt offence to the people; but, they were more eſpecially alarmed at the alliance with France, and juſtly afraid of the treachery of that nation.

Clarendon had, in an evil hour, taught Charles, in the firſt years of his reign, to receive money from France, unknown to his people; and the duke, with his three aſſociates, preſuming upon the ſame aid, formed the project of a treaty between the Kings of France and England, the ends of which were, that Louis XIV. ſhould give Charles two hundred thouſand pounds a year, to enable him to re-eſtabliſh the popiſh religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; that he ſhould alſo aſſiſt him with forces, in caſe inſurrections ſhould ariſe in his kingdom; and that, after the intereſts of religion were ſecured,

ſecured, the two monarchs ſhould join their forces, by ſea and land, for the deſtruction of the Dutch commonwealth, and divide its dominions between them and Charles's nephew the young Prince of Orange. This ſcheme being laid before Charles, he adopted it, and diſpatched Lord Arundel to Paris with the propoſal. Louis agreed to the terms, with an intention to perſuade Charles afterwards to reverſe the order of the project, and begin with the conqueſt of Holland. But ſo dangerous a ſecret was kept concealed both in France and England.

In the mean time Buckingham, who was a favourite of the king's ſiſter the Ducheſs of Orleans, had entered with her into a project, to bring about an alliance for a new war againſt Holland. Her intentions in this were, that the adjuſting the terms of the treaty ſhould be committed to themſelves by their reſpective ſovereigns. Louis caught eagerly at an intrigue which he foreſaw might facilitate the views he had entertained when he entered into the ſecret treaty; and, as he knew the influence of the ducheſs with her brother, he ſent her to Dover, under the pretence of a viſit to Charles; but, in reality, to perſuade him to undertake immediately the deſtruction of Holland, and he himſelf lingered on the oppoſite coaſt of France, while the interview laſted. It was intended, that Charles and the duke ſhould have gone to Dover together; but Charles, by an accident, went alone; and the ducheſs, who was ignorant of the former ſecret treaty, propoſed to her brother a treaty with France, for a war of the two kingdoms againſt Holland, and his receiving a ſubſidy from France while it continued. To this propoſal Charles inſtantly agreed. When the duke arrived, he in vain preſſed him to adhere to the terms of the former treaty, and to ſettle the intereſt of religion, and the eſtabliſhment of his own power at home, before he involved himſelf in the difficulties of a war, which would make him dependent upon parliament. Louis,

who was well acquainted with Charles's character, had fixed him in his intereſts by the ties of pleaſure, and had made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means he hoped to govern him for the future. The Ducheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the king took with him to London, and ſoon after created Ducheſs of Portſmouth. He was ever after extremely attached to her; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connections with France.

Previous to the rupture with Holland, a treaty of peace was ſigned between England and Spain, which is commonly called the American Treaty. Spain had ever carefully avoided the mention of America in all treaties entered into with England, being deſirous of keeping up her ancient claims to that country; whilſt England, on the other hand, was deſirous of maintaining and improving the footing ſhe had gained on the northern coaſt. The great feebleneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy, at length, compelled them to recede from this rapacious haughtineſs; and overtures were made by the Spaniſh miniſter to the court of Great Britain, for a clear and explicit adjuſtment of the rights of the two kingdoms in America. This brought on a conference, the reſult whereof was, that Spain agreed to recognize the right of England to all American dominions, of which ſhe was poſſeſſed in 1670. By this treaty, the pirates, or bucanneers, who for ſeveral years had greatly annoyed Spaniſh America, were cut off from any future protection from England. Neither this treaty however, nor any ſubſequent one, has determined the right by which the ſhips of Spain, called guarda de coſtas, intercept and annoy ſuch Engliſh ſhips as ſail near, though without landing on, the Spaniſh coaſt in the gulph of Mexico, which we ſhall hereafter ſee became the foundation of a war between the two kingdoms.

In

In January 1671-2, the king, by the advice of his cabal miniſtry, ſhut up the exchequer, by which ſtep all the money which the London goldſmiths and bankers had depoſited, at eight per cent. intereſt, was made uſe of by the king for his intended war with Holland. The ſum thus ſeized amounted to one million three hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; the injury which the nation ſuſtained by this arbitrary and unjuſt detention of their property was very great, and many families were thereby reduced from opulence to beggary. The diſcontents of the people ran high on this, and it was publicly ſaid, that a ſtep of this kind indicated that the crown, for the future, reſolved to *borrow* no more, but to *take*. The king's miniſters paid no regard to the remonſtrances of thoſe people who were ruined, and the exchequer long remained ſhut; and, though ſix per cent. was paid on all monies ſo ſeized, yet the principal was never paid. The parliament of the twelfth year of King William, although this was not a parliamentary debt, yet provided for a large arrear of intereſt on it, ſettled an intereſt of three per cent. on the principal, and made the debt redeemable on paying one moiety of it, or ſix hundred and ſixty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three pounds, which moiety thereupon became the proper debt of the public, and was finally ſubſcribed into the South-ſea capital ſtock, in the year 1720. At the ſame time that the exchequer was ſhut up, the act of navigation was ſuſpended, by authority of the crown alone. This ſtep was taken in order to man the royal navy, by compelling the ſeamen on-board of merchantmen to enter on-board men of war; a ſimilar ſtretch of authority had been made in the firſt Dutch war. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, containing rigorous clauſes in favour of preſſing: this was accompanied with another, full of menaces againſt thoſe who preſumed to expreſs themſelves diſrepectfully of his majeſty's meaſures, and

even thoſe who connived at ſuch diſcourſe, by hearing it without informing againſt the ſpeakers. All theſe arbitrary meaſures ſhewed, that the court were bent on overturning that legal adminiſtration, which the parliament, after ſuch violent convulſions and civil wars, had hoped to have eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

The cabal miniſtry had hit upon another method of filling the king's coffers, which was by intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant-ſhips from Smyrna, which was ſuppoſed to be worth fifteen hundred thouſand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes, who ſtruck the firſt ſtroke in the former war by his repriſals in Guinea, was pitched upon to begin the war now determined on, by attacking theſe ſhips. Accordingly, he was ſent out with a fleet of men of war. Under him were the Earl of Oſſory, as vice-admiral, in the Reſolution, and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the Cambridge. Holmes fell in with Sir Edward Spragge, who was returning home with his ſquadron from the Mediterranean, where he had effectually annoyed the Algerines; but, being deſirous of atchieving the exploit without any ſharer in the honour, he ſuffered Spragge to continue his voyage homewards, without availing himſelf of his aſſiſtance. Sir Robert Holmes ſoon after deſcried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five men of war, commanded by Admiral Van Neſſe, who, having received intimation of the deſign that was formed, put his ſhips of war, and their convoy, into an admirable ſtate of defence. On the 13th of March, 1672, the Engliſh admiral attacked the Dutch with great impetuoſity, and the combat was maintained the whole of that day; the next morning it was renewed, and continued again till night: on the third day one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken, and five rich merchant-ſhips; the reſt were ſaved by the admirable addreſs of the Dutch commander, and, by favour of a thick fog, were brought ſafe to Holland. The ſtates general exclaimed loudly againſt this piratical attempt, which

appeared

appeared the more diſhonourable, as, upon the whole, it had been attended with very little ſucceſs: the Engliſh nation, in general, condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and even the king himſelf was aſhamed of the undertaking. The miniſtry pretended that it was no other than a caſual rencounter, occaſioned by the pride of the Dutch admiral, who refuſed to ſtrike his topſails in compliment to the Engliſh ſquadron. Soon after four Dutch Eaſt India ſhips were taken by ſome cruiſers from England, and were condemned as lawful prizes, even before the declaration of war.

The next ſtep was to declare war againſt the Dutch; the reaſons aſſigned for which were, that they had refuſed to ſend home the Engliſh families ſettled in Surinam, agreeable to the ſtipulations entered into at Breda; for having denied the honours due to the Engliſh flag; and for having ridiculed the king and people of England, in medals and pictures. The Dutch were long at a loſs what to make of this latter charge, until it was diſcovered that a portrait of Cornelius De Witt, the penſionary's brother, had been painted by order of the magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, on the back-ground of which were repreſented ſome ſhips on fire: this was conſtrued to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, where De Witt had diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Thus, though the inſult itſelf, which was committed in open war, had long been forgiven, the picture of it drew ſevere vengeance on the country.

To theſe charges the Dutch replied, that they had not detained the Engliſh families at Surinam, but they themſelves had refuſed to quit the colony; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their topſails, on their own coaſt, to any Engliſh yacht, which was the circumſtance reſented; and that they had never countenanced any pictures, or medals, that reflected upon the honour of the king, and the people of England. But it was in vain to remonſtrate

when meaſures were predetermined. In this diſpute, as in the former, ſuch ſhips as had been detained in port were diſmiſſed on both ſides.

War was declared in England againſt Holland, in London, on the 28th of March, and preſently after by France. The commonwealth of the United Provinces ſeemed now devoted to deſtruction; Louis XIV. was at the head of an army, conſiſting of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, commanded by brave and experienced generals. During a number of years, the navy of Holland engroſſed the whole attention of the miniſtry, while the army was conſidered as a dangerous means of ſtrengthening the hands of their oppoſers. The two violent wars which, during the laſt twenty years, had been waged with England, had improved both the ſkill and the courage of the ſeamen; and, though many of their great commanders had loſt their lives in one or other of theſe deſperate actions which had been fought, yet there ſtill remained to Holland, a naval officer, equal, if not ſuperior, in abilities, experience, and intrepidity, to any which it had loſt; and perhaps not inferior to any ſea commander of the age. This man was De Ruyter. The firſt object therefore was to equip a fleet, and thereby to attempt to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow, which ſhould give a turn to the aſpect of affairs. De Ruyter put to ſea with the moſt formidable fleet that the republic of Holland had ever ſent out; on-board of which was Cornelius De Witt, as deputy from the ſtates. The French king, that he might ſeem to perform his treaty with the Engliſh better than in the former war he had done with the Dutch, ſent the Mareſchal d'Etrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large ſquadron, to join the Engliſh fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May, and immediately after the king went down to Portſmouth; and, to ſhew the confidence he placed in his new ally, went on-board the French admiral. The combined fleets ſailed from thence to the Downs; the

Duke

Duke of York, as admiral, bearing the red flag, and the Earl of Sandwich the blue; the French ſquadron brought up the rear, their admiral bearing a white flag. The whole fleet conſiſted of one hundred and one ſail of men of war, beſides fire-ſhips and tenders. Of theſe the Engliſh had ſixty-five men of war, and on-board of them four thouſand and ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thouſand five hundred and thirty men. The French ſquadron conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſail, on-board of which were one thouſand nine hundred and twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, and about eleven thouſand men. The Dutch fleet amounted to ninety-one men of war, fifty-four fire-ſhips, and twenty-three yachts. The Engliſh and French fleets lay at anchor, in ſuch diſorder, in Solebay, on the coaſt of Suffolk, that, had the Dutch fleet borne down upon them precipitately, their fire-ſhips would, moſt probably, have annihilated their enemies, and effected a victory more deciſive and ſignal than hiſtory has hitherto recorded. This danger the Earl of Sandwich perceived, and urged the Duke of York to remove, by making a more extended diſpoſition; but, inſtead of having his advice followed, which his great experience and tried bravery entitled him to expect, the petulant duke intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. This inſult is ſuppoſed to have ſunk ſo deep into the mind of Sandwich, whoſe nice ſenſe of honour could not brook the moſt diſtant imputation, as to actuate him to the deſperate part which he took in the engagement that ſoon after enſued. However, the appearance of the Dutch fleet that ſame day juſtified the precaution that had been adviſed; but the ſlowneſs of its approach enabled the combined fleets to form a line of battle, in order for which many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables with the utmoſt precipitation. The engagement began about eight in the morning. De Ruyter, with his diviſion, attacked the center of the Engliſh fleet, commanded

manded by the Duke of York; whilſt the Earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, of one hundred guns, made haſte to weather the headland, and attack Van Ghent's diviſion. The impetuous valour of the earl carried him into the midſt of the enemy, where, although badly ſupported by many of the ſhips under his command, he, almoſt alone, dealt terrible deſtruction to the enemy. He killed Admiral Van Ghent, and beat off his ſhip; he deſtroyed another large ſhip that attempted to board him, ſunk three fire-ſhips as they were approaching to grapple with his rigging: and although ſix hundred of his men were killed, being two-thirds of the ſhip's company, and his ſhip dreadfully ſhattered by the ſhot of the enemy, he never ſlackened the fury of his fire upon all who aſſailed him. At length a fourth fire-ſhip ran aboard on the quarter of his crippled ſhip, and ſet it in flames. Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, who was almoſt the only officer that ſurvived, in vain entreated this brave man to abandon the ſhip, and conſult his own ſafety by taking to the boat, but in vain; he remained on-board till almoſt ſurrounded by flames, when he plunged into the ſea, and there periſhed.

Whilſt Sandwich had been preſſing forward in queſt of the enemy, De Ruyter, had borne down on the Duke of York, and attacked him with all the fury of intrepid valour. For two hours the engagement was maintained with ſuch activity, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it to have been the moſt obſtinate of thirty-two actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered that he was obliged to quit her, and hoiſt his flag on-board another; and his diviſion was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joſeph Jordan, who ſucceeded Sandwich, and had by this time completed the confuſion of Van Ghent's ſhips, which Sandwich began to ſpread, bore down to the ſuccour of the duke and his red ſquadron. The battle was then more equally maintained, and continued, without

without any decisive advantage being gained, till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The Dutch were rescued from a most disgraceful defeat, by the scattered squadron which Van Ghent had commanded rallying when they found themselves no longer pressed by the English, and bravely bearing down to the assistance of their countrymen. Cornelius Evertzen vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and De Ruyter and Allemond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships. The English lost the Royal James, and four smaller men of war. The Dutch lost three of their best ships, one of which was sunk, another burnt, and a third, (the Staveren,) taken; a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by Captain Brakell, (who had gained such honour by breaking the boom at Chatham, and thereby effecting every thing which followed in consequence of it,) was entirely disabled.

The French squadron was only engaged during the onset, for as soon as the battle grew fierce they cautiously withdrew, not from any natural cowardice, though the French navy was, at that time, little qualified to encounter such veterans in arms as the Dutch then were; but the views of the French court led them to play off the two maritime powers against each other. The French however, notwithstanding all their backwardness to fight, lost two men of war, together with their Rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. The English sustained a very heavy loss by the death of many men of note: besides the Earl of Sandwich, who was a national loss, fell Captain Digby, of the Henry; Captain Pierce, of the St. George; Captain Waterworth, of the Ann; Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge; Sir John Fox, of the Prince; and Captain Hannam, of the Triumph. Among the volunteers there fell Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montagu, the sixth son of the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Philip Carteret, and Sir Charles Harbord. Of private men about

two thouſand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think it adviſeable to publiſh any liſt, their loſs therefore can only be conjectured, but by the ſuppreſſion of it it may be ſuppoſed to be too great to be told.

The combined powers were much more ſucceſsful againſt the Dutch by land. Louis conquered all before him, croſſed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final diſſolution. This ſummer he kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making incurſions within a league of Amſterdam itſelf. Thus was the greateſt mercantile republic that ever exiſted, upon the very brink of utter deſtruction. The richeſt families, and thoſe who were moſt deſirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The Dutch would have no longer exiſted but in the moſt diſtant part of the Eaſt-Indies. Amſterdam, which is the ſtaple and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thouſand men, would preſently have become only one vaſt lake. Four deputies came to the French king's camp, to implore his clemency in the name of a republic, which, ſix months before, had thought itſelf the arbiter between kings. The deputies were made to return ſeveral different times; but at laſt the king ordered his determination to be declared to them; which was, that the ſtates ſhould give up to him all they poſſeſſed on the other ſide of the Rhine, comprehending Nimeguen, together with ſeveral other towns and forts in the heart of their territories; that they ſhould pay him twenty millions; that the French ſhould be maſters of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, without paying toll; that the catholic religion ſhould be every where reſtored; that the republic ſhould, every year, ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to France with a gold medal, whereon ſhould be engraved an acknowledgment, that

that they held their liberties of Louis XIV. and, finally, that they ſhould alſo make ſatisfaction to the King of England, and the princes of the empire, particularly thoſe of Cologne and Munſter, by whom Holland ſtill continued to be ravaged.

Theſe conditions of peace, which approached ſo near to ſlavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inſpired the vanquiſhed with a deſperate courage. The Dutch reſolved to die with their arms in their hands. The hearts and the hopes of the nation were all turned on the Prince of Orange. The people became enraged againſt the grand penſionary, who had ſued for peace; and their ſeditious fury ſoon joined the deſigns and animoſity of the prince's party. An attempt was immediately made againſt the life of the grand penſionary John De Witt, and Cornelius his brother, both whom the populace at the Hague murdered. They immediately cut the dykes which kept out the ſea; and the country houſes, which are innumerable about Amſterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring towns, ſuch as Leyden and Delft, were overwhelmed. The country people did not repine at ſeeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amſterdam appeared like a vaſt fortreſs in the midſt of the ſea, ſurrounded with ſhips of war, which had depth of water ſufficient to make them be ſtationed round the city. There was the greateſt ſcarcity among the inhabitants; eſpecially of freſh water, which was ſold for ſixpence half a pint: but they conſidered theſe neceſſities as more tolerable than ſlavery. It is worthy the obſervation of poſterity, that Holland, when thus diſtreſſed and overwhelmed on land, and, as it were, no longer a ſtate, yet continued formidable at ſea; which, indeed, is the true element of this people.

Theſe diſtreſſes of the Dutch, and the boundleſs ambition of the French monarch, procured them many powerful friends, who could not be indifferent ſpectators of the ruin of thoſe provinces. The Emperor

Leopold, the great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, the governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, all joined in ſupporting the Dutch; and, as no more conqueſts could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis thought it adviſeable to leave his army, and return home. Soon after, the army, being weakened by numerous garriſons in the towns which had been reduced, was obliged to retreat before the Prince of Orange, then elected ſtadtholder, who recovered all that the French had ſeized.

There was no ally on whom the Dutch more depended for aſſiſtance than the parliament of England, and the king's neceſſities obliged him, at length, to ſummon a parliament to meet on the 4th of February 1673. To this parliament Britain, perhaps, owes the liberty it now enjoys. Charles opened the ſeſſion, by obſerving, in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his reſolution to maintain his grant of indulgence; and that, inſtead of diminiſhing, he intended to encreaſe his army: a declaration which diſcovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to obtain his will by an army, to whoſe eſtabliſhment parliament had not conſented. But the houſe of commons, with a true Engliſh ſpirit, remonſtrated, in an addreſs, that the diſpenſing power he had aſſerted in his declaration did not belong to his crown. Charles gave an ambiguous anſwer, and, in a ſecond addreſs, they inſiſted on one more explicit. In another, they preſſed him to diſmiſs the popiſh officers of his army; and, in a fourth, to diſband the army itſelf, as ſoon as the peace was concluded. They paſſed the famous teſt-act, againſt popery, which ſtruck the ſtaff of lord high-treaſurer from the hand of Lord Clifford, and that of lord high-admiral from the hand of the king's brother. Charles, now declining a conflict with his parliament, relinquiſhed his pretenſion to a diſpenſing power; breaking, with his own hands, the ſeal affixed to the declaration of indulgence. The com-

commons, to recompenſe the king for his conceſſions, granted him a ſupply, and paſſed an act of general pardon and indemnity, which ſcreened miniſters from all farther enquiry.

The Dutch in the mean time continued to defend themſelves with great valour. Although the chief attention of the belligerent powers was confined to the vicinity of their reſpective ſtates, yet Sir Tobias Bridges, with ſix ſhips from Barbadoes, took from the Dutch the iſland of Tobago, in the Weſt-Indies; and alſo St. Euſtatia, the latter of which was re-taken ſoon after by the Dutch admiral, Evertzen. On the other hand, the Hollanders poſſeſſed themſelves of St. Helena; but this alſo was ſoon recovered, the Engliſh ſurprizing the Dutch garriſon, at a place where only two perſons a-breaſt could climb up the rocks.

But though the king had, for ſome time, tacitly relinquiſhed the diſpenſing power, he was ſtill reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and the money granted him by parliament enabled him to equip a fleet, the command of which he gave to Prince Rupert, under whom commanded the Earl of Oſſory and Sir Edward Spragge; a French fleet, commanded by d'Etrées, joined them. The combined fleets ſet ſail towards the coaſts of Holland, on the 28th of May, and found the enemy lying at anchor within the ſands of Schonvelt, in Zealand.

There is a natural confuſion attending ſea-fights, even beyond other military tranſactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the ſmoke and darkneſs in which every thing is there involved. No wonder therefore that accounts of thoſe battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; eſpecially when delivered by writers of the hoſtile nations, who take pleaſure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depreſſing thoſe of the enemy. All we can ſay with certainty of this battle is, that both ſides boaſted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not deciſive.

ſive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and preſented themſelves again to the combined fleets. A new action enſued, not more deciſive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obſtinacy on either ſide; but whether the Dutch or the allies firſt retired, ſeems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loſs, in the former of theſe actions, fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons; and they thereby expoſed them to all the fire of the enemy. There ſeems not to have been a ſhip loſt on either ſide in the ſecond engagement. It was ſufficient glory to De Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined ſquadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable diſadvantage; and it was ſufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a deſcent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the preſent circumſtances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was alſo ſuſpected not to favour the king's projects for ſubduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from theſe motives he was thought not to have preſſed ſo hard on the enemy as his well-known valour gave reaſon to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that during this war, though the Engliſh, with their allies, much overmatched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they ſtill exerted themſelves with the greateſt courage, and always acquired great renown, ſometimes even ſignal victories. If Prince Rupert was not favourable to the deſigns of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at leaſt from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, ſtill poſſeſſed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, ſhot, proviſions, beer, and even water; and he went into

harbour, that he might refit his ſhips, and ſupply their numerous neceſſities. After ſome weeks he was refitted, and he again put to ſea. About the middle of the month of July, Prince Rupert was again on the Dutch coaſt, having on-board his fleet the troops intended for making a deſcent. A Dutch Eaſt-India ſhip, richly laden, was taken, and De Ruyter, bent on getting rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, bore down to engage the two fleets. Prince Rupert hereupon ſent repeated orders to the French admiral to make ſail, which however he very faintly complied with. The ſlow manner in which the French advanced, gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect. Early, on the 11th of Auguſt, he bore down upon the confederates, who were formed in good order; the French in the van, Prince Rupert in the centre, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this ſituation the French had a fair opportunity of getting the wind of the enemy, which however they neglected. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of about ſixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of about ſeventy: ſo that the royal fleets were indiſputably ſuperior to that of the republic. Brankert was oppoſed to d'Etrées, De Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Spragge. It is remarkable, that in all actions theſe brave admirals laſt-mentioned had ſtill ſelected each other, as the only antagoniſts worthy their valour; and no deciſive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle as if there was no mean between death and victory. The French fleet in general, rear-admiral Martel alone excepted, kept aloof; and Brankert, inſtead of attacking them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of De Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the prince acquire more deſerved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, ſhone out with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies

enemies with whom he was every where ſurrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear-admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he haſtened to the relief of Spragge, who was hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Spragge firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on-board the St. George; while Tromp was, for a like reaſon, obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on-board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear-admiral to Spragge, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled. Spragge was leaving her in order to hoiſt his flag on-board a third ſhip, and return to the charge, when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his boat and ſunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf. Prince Rupert, perceiving that whole diviſion almoſt totally diſabled, ſent three fire-ſhips among the Dutch fleet, which was likewiſe greatly damaged, and made ſignal for the French ſquadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed this order while the enemy were in confuſion, occaſioned by the fire-ſhips, a victory would probably have been obtained; but the French admiral paid no regard to the ſignal, and the greateſt part of the Engliſh fleet had been ſo roughly handled, that the prince could not purſue his advantage: he therefore collected his ſtraggling ſhips, and hauled off to the Engliſh coaſts, leaving the victory undecided. Notwithſtanding all the advantages which the Dutch gained on the blue ſquadron, yet they neither took nor ſunk one Engliſh man of war; and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves, and Captain Havard, beſides the gallant Admiral Spragge; and no great number of private men. On their ſide they loſt two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thouſand private men. The

benefits

benefits they drew from this battle was great, for they thereby opened their ports, which before the battle were entirely shut up, and defeated all thoughts of an invasion. When Martel, the French admiral, remonstrated with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the commander in chief not to obey his signals. On his return to France, Dr. Campbell asserts, from the authority of a pamphlet published soon after the action, and written by a person of consequence on-board the English fleet, Martel was sent to the bastile for the active part he had taken in the engagement.

Soon after this battle the English returned into the Thames; and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that they employed a whole month in reaching Brest.

The King of Sweden had offered his mediation to adjust the differences between the contending powers, and a congress was thereupon opened at Cologne. But these conferences were not successful. After this battle the states-general wrote to Charles, wherein they expressed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles that had hitherto retarded it. In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers, and of his ally; they represented to him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a step, a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and please all the rest of Europe. Farther to induce the king to peace, they represented the base behaviour of the French in the last sea-fights, and that an offer had been made them from France of a separate peace, without any respect being had to England. Charles, by this time, perceived that it would be impossible to maintain the war while the parliament was so determined to make the redress of grievances precede the granting of supplies: he therefore made a virtue of necessity, and laid the terms proposed by the

Marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh miniſter at London, who was inveſted with full powers to treat of peace, before his parliament; and on their paſſing a vote, humbly deſiring him to proceed in a treaty with the ſtates in order to a ſpeedy peace, he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate it with the Spaniſh envoy. In fifteen days from the beginning of the conference the treaty was concluded, twenty-eighth of February, 1674; it conſiſted of a renewal of the peace of Breda, with ſeveral additions. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive manner; commercial regulations were made; all poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war; the Engliſh planters at Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure; and the ſtates agreed to pay the King of England the ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, towards defraying the expence of his armaments. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that ſhe could no longer remain neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland; and a ſenſible decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould enſue with that kingdom. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to increaſe the national averſion to the war, and to enliven the joy for its concluſion. There was in the French ſervice a body of Engliſh troops, to the number of ten thouſand men, who had acquired honour in every action in which they fought, and had greatly contributed to the rapid ſucceſſes which the French king, at one time, was crowned with. Theſe troops were very obnoxious to the Dutch; but Charles pleaded that he was bound in honour not to recall them; he however pledged himſelf to the ſtates, by a ſecret article, not to allow them to be recruited. But this engagement his partiality to France prevented him from obſerving.

Though

Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they ſtill continued to examine grievances. They inſiſted on the king's diſbanding his land-forces and guards; they appointed a committee to conſider the militia-law paſſed in the Scottiſh parliament, authoriſing the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to enquire into the ſtate of Ireland, with reſpect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the habeas-corpus; and brought in another, obliging the members of both houſes to take the teſt-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this ſpirit in the parliament, but he rendered theſe meaſures ineffectual, by an immediate prorogation; and, having thus freed himſelf from all foreign and domeſtic diſputes, he relapſed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleaſure. The Duke of York had now married Maria D'Eſte, ſiſter to Francis duke of Modena; the princeſs being of the Romiſh communion, the match was extremely diſreliſhed by the nation. He had before married Anne, a daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, by whom he had two daughters, the Princeſs Maria and Princeſs Anne.

All this time the king had tyrannized over the Scots in a very cruel manner. Being apprized of the tendency of preſbyterian principles to a republican form of government, Charles, like his predeceſſors, had endeavoured to introduce epiſcopacy there, but in a much more violent manner than had been formerly attempted. The people, as might have been expected, were diſpleaſed to the higheſt degree; they reſolved, however, to give no ſign of mutiny or ſedition, notwithſtanding their diſcontent. This ſubmiſſion made their caſe ſtill worſe; it being fooliſhly imagined, that, as they did not complain for a little ill uſage, they would ſubmit altogether if they were worſe treated. Affairs remained in a peaceable ſituation, till, in 1661, a very

ſevere act was paſſed in England againſt conventicles, and this ſeverity was imitated by the Scots parliament, who paſſed an act of the ſame kind. Military force was next let looſe. Wherever the people had generally forſaken the churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. They were commanded by Sir James Turner, a man of a very furious temper and diſſolute life. He went about and received liſts from the clergy of thoſe who abſented themſelves from the churches, or were ſuppoſed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof, or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them; and quartered ſoldiers upon the ſuppoſed criminals till he received payment. An inſurrection being dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and entruſted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond, two men of very cruel diſpoſitions, and the Scots parliament gave full ſcope to all their enormities. Repreſentations were now made to the king, who promiſed ſome redreſs. But his lenity came too late. The people, in 1668, roſe in arms. They ſurpriſed Turner in Dumfries, and reſolved to have put him to death: but, finding his orders to be more violent than his execution of them, they ſpared his life. At Lanark they renewed the covenant, and publiſhed their manifeſto; where they profeſſed their ſubmiſſion to the king, and only deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of preſbytery, and of their former miniſters. Their force never exceeded two thouſand men; and, though the country in general bore them great favour, men's ſpirits were ſo ſubdued, that the inſurgents could expect no farther increaſe of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppoſe them. The number of covenanters was now reduced to eight hundred, and theſe no way capable of contending with regular forces. Having advanced near Edinburgh, they attempted to find their way back into the weſt by Pentland-hills. Here they were attacked by the king's troops, and received the firſt charge very reſolutely; but that was all the action.

Immediately

Immediately they fell into confuſion, and fled. About forty were killed on the ſpot, and one hundred and thirty taken priſoners.

So long ago as the year 1661, the preſbyterians had deputed one Sharpe to lay their grievances before the king. Inſtead of this, their deputy abandoned the cauſe altogether, became their violent enemy, and as a reward of his treachery was made Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. After the battle of Pentland-hills, this man was the foremoſt to take vengeance on the unhappy inſurgents, whoſe oppreſſed ſtate and inoffenſive behaviour had made them objects of univerſal compaſſion. Ten were hanged on one gibbet in Edinburgh; thirty-five before their own doors in different places. They might all have ſaved their lives if they would have renounced the covenant; but this they abſolutely refuſed. The executions were going on, when the king wrote a letter to the privy council, in which he ordered that ſuch of the priſoners as ſhould ſimply promiſe to obey the laws for the future ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to the plantations. This letter was brought to the council by Burnet, but was not immediately delivered by Sharpe. What his motives were for this delay, we pretend not to ſay; but certain it is, that no action of his life will bear a worſe conſtruction than this. It had been cuſtomary to put theſe poor creatures to very ſevere tortures, in order to make them confeſs that to be falſehood which thay believed to be true. By Sharpe's delay, one Hugh Maccail had been tortured, who would otherwiſe have eſcaped; and ſo violent were the torments he endured, that he expired under them.

As the violent methods uſed by the king were found ineffectual to obtain his purpoſe in Scotland, in 1678 a ſcheme of comprehenſion was tried, by which it was propoſed to diminiſh greatly the authority of the biſhops, to aboliſh their negative voice in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and to leave them little more than the right

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of precedency among the preſbyters: but this too was rejected by the people, who well knew its tendency. The next ſcheme was an indulgence. By this, the moſt popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of ſubmiſſion to the eſtabliſhed religion, were ſettled in vacant churches; and ſmall ſalaries of about twenty pounds a-year were offered to the reſt, till they ſhould be otherwiſe eſtabliſhed. This bounty was rejected as the wages of criminal ſilence, and the replaced miniſters ſoon repented of their compliance; conventicles multiplied, and the covenanters daily met in arms at their places of worſhip, though they uſually diſperſed themſelves after divine ſervice. Theſe mild methods being rejected, a renewal of the perſecution commenced under the adminiſtration of the Duke of Lauderdale, and in which Archbiſhop Sharpe had a principal hand. Application was made to Charles for ſome redreſs of theſe grievances: but he was too much taken up with his pleaſures to take any effectual means of putting a ſtop to them; nay, even while he retracted them, he was perſuaded to avow and praiſe them in a letter to the privy-council. The conſequence of all this was, that the covenanters were at laſt ſo much enraged againſt Sharpe, whom they conſidered as an apoſtate, and experienced to be an unrelenting perſecutor, that, on the 3d of May 1679, he was way-laid and murdered with all the circumſtances of unrelenting cruelty. The murder of Sharpe produced a perſecution ſtill more violent, which at laſt brought on another inſurrection.

The covenanters finding themſelves obliged to meet in large bodies, and bring arms along with them for their own ſecurity, ſet forth a declaration againſt prelacy, which they publiſhed at Rutherglen, a ſmall borough near Glaſgow; and in the market-place there they burned ſeveral acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed that mode of eccleſiaſtical government, and had prohibited all conventicles. For this purpoſe they choſe

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the 29th of May, the anniverſary of the reſtoration; and previouſly extinguiſhed the bonfires that had been kindled on that occaſion. Count Graham, afterwards Viſcount Dundee, an active and enterprizing officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, but was repulſed with the loſs of thirty men. The covenanters then finding themſelves unwarily engaged in rebellion, were obliged to perſevere; and therefore puſhed on to Glaſgow, which, though repulſed at firſt, they afterwards made themſelves maſters of. Here they diſpoſſeſſed the eſtabliſhed clergy, and iſſued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought againſt the king's ſupremacy, againſt popery and prelacy, and againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Charles, being now alarmed, diſpatched againſt the covenanters a ſmall body of Engliſh cavalry under the Duke of Monmouth. He joined the Scots guards, and ſome regiments of militia levied from the well-affected counties; and with great celerity marched in queſt of the inſurgents. They had taken poſt at Bothwell-bridge, between Hamilton and Glaſgow; where there was no acceſs but by this bridge, and where a ſmall body was able to defend it againſt the king's army. The whole army of the covenanters never exceeded eight thouſand men, and they had in reality no other generals than their clergymen. Monmouth attacked the bridge, and the covenanters maintained their poſt as long as their ammunition laſted. When they ſent for more, they received orders to quit their poſt and retire; and this imprudent meaſure occaſioned an immediate defeat. Monmouth paſſed the bridge without oppoſition, and drew up his forces oppoſite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to the rout. About ſeven hundred were killed in the purſuit; for, properly ſpeaking, there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken priſoners, and treated with humanity by Monmouth. Such as promiſed to live peaceably under the preſent government were diſmiſſed; and about three

hundred who refuſed this condition were ſhipped for Barbadoes, but unfortunately periſhed by the way. Two of their clergymen were hanged. Soon after, an act of indemnity was paſſed: but Lauderdale took care that it ſhould afford little protection to the unhappy covenanters; for, though orders were given to connive thenceforward at all conventicles, he found means under a variety of pretences to elude the execution of them.

In the latter end of the year 1675, Sir John Narborough was ſent with a ſquadron to the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the pirates of Tripoli, who had interrupted our trade in that ſea, and, coming before that place in the dead of the night, manned out his boats, and ſent them into port, under the conduct of his lieutenant, Mr. Cloudeſley Shovel, (afterwards Sir Cloudeſley,) who, firſt ſeizing the enemy's guard-boat, went on undiſcovered, and ſurprized all the Tripoline ſhips which lay in port, being four in number; having burnt them, he returned in triumph to the fleet, without the loſs of one man. This bold and effectual ſtroke brought the Tripolines to conclude a peace with the Engliſh admiral, in which they made all the conceſſions that were deſired.

The war between France and Holland ſtill continued to be maintained in Flanders; the Prince of Orange, who headed the army of the ſtates, diſplayed all the ſkill of the moſt experienced general, with the bravery of a dauntleſs hero, and ſucceſsfully made head againſt all the force which Louis could bring down againſt him.

The Engliſh nation could not quietly remain a ſpectator of this unequal conflict; they felt a ſympathetic commiſeration for the States of Holland, being powerfully engaged in their intereſt from the principles of religious and civil liberty, which had been equally contended for by both countries. The commons therefore addreſſed the king, entreating him not to defer entering into ſuch alliances as might ſecure his own dominions,

dominions, and the liberties of Europe; and, in caſe war with the French king ſhould be the reſult of his meaſures, they promiſed to grant him ſuch aids and ſupplies as would enable him to ſupport the honour and intereſt of the nation. The king replied, that the only way to prevent danger was to put him in a condition to make preparation for his ſecurity. The parliament ſaw, too clearly, that his union with France, during the war againſt Holland, was founded on projects ſubverſive of the rights of his people; and, as the ſame union was ſtill ſecretly maintained, the ſame projects might juſtly be ſuppoſed to exiſt. They clearly ſaw, that the king only wanted to obtain the money, which he meant to ſquander in an ignoble and prodigal manner. The making uſe of ſuch diſhonourable means therefore, to ſo ignoble an end, rendered him utterly unworthy the confidence of his people.

The houſe of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. In the preſent emergence, a general diſtruſt of the king prevailed; and the parliament reſolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Inſtead of granting the ſupply, they voted an addreſs, wherein they "beſought his majeſty to enter into a league, offenſive and defenſive, with the States-general of the United Provinces, againſt the growth and power of the French king, and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and to make ſuch other alliances with the confederates as ſhould appear fit and uſeful to that end." They ſupported their advice with reaſons, and promiſed ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies, for preſerving his majeſty's honour, and enſuring the ſafety of the public. The king pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in ſevere terms, and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the king both might, with eaſe, have preſerved the balance of power in Europe, which it has ſince coſt this iſland a great expence of blood and treaſure to reſtore, and might, by perſeverance, have at laſt regained, in ſome tolerable meaſure, after all paſt errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithſtanding *his* momentary appearance of vigour againſt France and popery, and *their* momentary inclinations to rely on his faith, *he* was ſtill believed to be, at the bottom, engaged in the ſame intereſts, and *they* ſoon relapſed into diſtruſt and jealouſy. The ſecret memoirs of this reign, which have ſince been publiſhed, prove, beyond a doubt, that the king had, at this time, concerted meaſures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, but to procure a grant of money; and he truſted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

A match was now propoſed between the Prince of Orange and the Princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of York. She, and her ſiſter Anne, had been educated in the Proteſtant religion, and the Prince of Orange ſeemed to reliſh the proſpect of ſuch a marriage. Charles at firſt was neutral, or rather ſeemed averſe to ſuch an alliance, which he knew muſt be extremely diſagreeable to his brother. But when the Earl of Danby, who warmly promoted it, repreſented that ſuch an union would, moſt probably, bring over the Prince of Orange to the views of Charles, the king began to ſee it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to viſit England, after the campaign of 1677 ſhould be cloſed. The prince accordingly arrived in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well pleaſed with the character and perſon of Mary;

Mary; and, until he had an opportunity of being acquainted with the lady, he declined entering with the king into the ſubject of the marriage; for ſo oppoſite were the ſentiments of this prince from thoſe of perſons of his rank, that he declared he placed a great part of his happineſs in domeſtic ſatisfaction, and would not, upon any conſideration of intereſt or politics, match himſelf with a perſon diſagreeable to him. Charles agreed to the prince's own terms; and the portion of the princeſs was fixed at forty thouſand pounds. This match gave general ſatisfaction; all parties ſtrove who ſhould applaud it moſt. The city of London welcomed the news with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy and approbation. The lord-mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence. An alliance with a prince, deſcended from a noble race of heroes, himſelf retaining all the virtues of his anceſtry, was a joyful event to people breathing after freedom, who had, through that whole century, a ſhort period only excepted, been governed by a ſucceſſion of princes, who had made the welfare of the nation ſubſervient to their own ambition.

Immediately upon the marriage, Charles and his nephew entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, the terms of which, after much altercation, were at length adjuſted. The Prince of Orange undertook to lay the conditions before the ſtates, and uſe all his influence to obtain their concurrence, whilſt Charles engaged to bring over the French king to them; at the ſame time expreſſing his firm adherence to this plan of pacification, and that he would come to an open rupture with Louis, ſhould he refuſe the proffered mediation. The prince, having now accompliſhed every public as well as private object of his journey to England, returned with his bride to Holland.

An ambaſſador was ſoon after ſent from England to the court of France, to notify this agreement. The French king ſuppreſſed his reſentment on the occaſion.

He told Mr. De Duras, the envoy, that the king, his maſter, knew he might always command a peace, but he thought it was hard to part with ſome of thoſe towns in Flanders, where he had expended large ſums on the fortifications; he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but, even with regard to theſe, he would ſend inſtructions to Barillon, his ambaſſador at London. The French king knew that there was one argument which would always weigh with ſuch a neceſſitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received ſecret inſtructions to relinquiſh, if neceſſary, all the towns except Tournay, and even to promiſe an equivalent for that, if the ſucceſs of the treaty reſted on ſuch a conceſſion; but that miniſter cajoled the king in ſuch a manner, that his agreement with the Prince of Orange was ſoon forgotten, and a negociation of a very different nature ſet on foot.

The character of this prince is very ſtrongly diſplayed in this long protracted treaty, which, at length, brought on the peace of Nimeguen. In one period of the treaty, the States of Holland preſſed Charles to an immediate declaration of war againſt France; and Sir William Temple, a very able and faithful miniſter, had undertaken, with the Dutch ambaſſador, to enforce their ſuit, by aſſuring the king that they would break off their negotiation with Louis, and act vigorouſly in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding all evaſion ineffectual, told Temple, that, as the ſtates were not averſe to embrace the terms acceded to by France, and as Louis had offered to purchaſe, with a ſum of money, his conſent to that which he could not prevent, he ſaw no reaſon for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore ordered Temple to treat with Barillon; but that honeſt ſtateſman refuſed to be concerned in ſuch a ſcandalous negociation. However, Charles was at no loſs to find an abandoned courtier to drive the bargain for the ſale of his maſter's honour. The treaty was no other than a ſtipulation of conditions, in conſideration

deration of which the King of England ſhould forbear declaring in favour of the allies, notwithſtanding the importunities of his parliament. The agreement was entered into, and three hundred thouſand pounds was to be the purchaſe-money; but Barillon afterwards gave the king to underſtand, that his maſter would not pay the money, unleſs he (Charles) would engage, by a ſecret article, that he never would maintain an army that ſhould exceed eight thouſand men; reckoning the whole force of the three kingdoms. Charles, on hearing this, exclaimed, "Cod's fleſh! (his uſual oath,) does my brother of France think to ſerve me thus? Are all his promiſes of making me abſolute maſter of my people come to this? or does he think *that* a thing to be done with eight thouſand men?"

Louis had now reached the height of that glory which ambition can afford. His miniſters and negotiators appeared as much ſuperior to thoſe of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A ſucceſsful war had been carried on againſt an alliance, compoſed of the greateſt potentates in Europe. Conſiderable conqueſts had been made, and his territories enlarged on every ſide. An advantageous peace was at laſt concluded, in which he had preſcribed the terms. The allies were ſo enraged againſt each other, that they were not likely to cement ſoon any new confederacy. This ſtate of France and of Europe held out to this elevated genius a fair proſpect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of ſurpaſſing the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England, ſays Mr. Hume, continued much longer in the ſame condition, and under the ſame government, it is not eaſy to conceive that he could have failed of his purpoſe.

In proportion as this poſture of affairs in Europe exalted the French, they excited indignation among the Engliſh, whoſe animoſity, rouſed by terror, roſe

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to a great height againſt that rival nation. They ſaw their king, inſtead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, ſacrifice his own honour and intereſt, by acting a part ſubſervient to the common enemy; and in every meaſure which he took, diſcovering either no view at all, or ſuch a one as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain, Holland, the emperor, the the princes of Germany, called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conſpired to raiſe her to a ſtation more glorious than ſhe had ever before attained, her king, from mean pecuniary motives, had ſecretly ſold her alliance to Louis, and was bribed into an intereſt contrary to that of his people. His active ſchemes, in conjunction with France, were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the ſpirited oppoſition of the parliament was the only remedy on which the public could depend, for the many evils with which the nation was threatened, from the miſguided counſels of the king. Such were the diſpoſitions of men's minds at the concluſion of the peace of Nimeguen, in Auguſt 1678.

Whilſt the general tranquillity of Europe was once more reſtored, England was filled with alarm at the apprehenſion of a popiſh plot. When the ſpirit of the Engliſh is once excited, they either find objects of reſentment, or they make them. The rumour of a popiſh conſpiracy was ſtrongly propagated, and one Titus Oates ſoon appeared to give it confirmation. This man had been, from his youth, an indigent and infamous adventurer. He was abandoned, illiterate, and ſhameleſs; he had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a man of war, and diſmiſſed for unnatural practices: he then profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, went to the jeſuits college at St. Omer, but was diſmiſſed, after ſome reſidence there, with infamy: he then returned to London, filled with projects of revenge; and the animoſities of this unhappy nation ſoon appeared a proper place of nouriſhment to give this viper's

viper's virulence effect. He depoſed upon oath, that the jeſuits, ſeveral of whom he named, and who were ſoon after taken up, had tried the king under the name of the *Black Baſtard*, condemned him as an heretic, and reſolved to deprive him of life: that ſeveral attempts had been made without ſucceſs; and that not only the king's brother, but even the queen, were privy to the deſign. The houſe of commons immediately took fire at this pretended conſpiracy; they petitioned for removing the queen, rewarded Oates with a gratuity of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conſpirators to be tried in the courts of juſtice. Several jeſuits were tried; their very profeſſion was at that time ſufficient to deſtroy them; before a partial judge, and an exaſperated jury, no mercy could be expected, and ſeveral, though apparently innocent, were executed as traitors, upon this miſcreant's information. Coleman the Duke of York's ſecretary, Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Fenwick, and Whitebread, were among the firſt that fell; they died, declaring their innocence to the laſt moment of their lives.

While the Proteſtants were labouring to humble the Papiſts, theſe two parties were, at the ſame time, mutually employed in ruining each other. Plot was ſet againſt plot; that contrived by Oates was called the *Jeſuits Plot*; that ſet to oppoſe it was called by the name of the *Meal-tub Plot*, as the ſcheme of the conſpiracy was found hidden in a meal-tub. The bottom of this affair is difficult to diſcover. One Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burnt in the hand for crimes, tranſported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and expoſed to every ſpecies of public infamy which the laws could inflict on the baſeſt and moſt ſhameful enormities: this man, under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the preſbyterians, had been countenanced by ſome catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's preſence, and the king's. This

ſame man, under pretence of revealing new popiſh plots, had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury, and ſome of the popular leaders. Which ſide he intended to cheat is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both.

Of all theſe plots, tending to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, it is ſaid the Earl of Shafteſbury was at the bottom. He poſſeſſed uncommon abilities, joined with turbulence, diſſimulation, and unbounded ambition. It was thought that this nobleman, in revenge for his diſgrace at court, headed the demagogue faction, and alarmed the king with unceaſing dangers.

In February 1679, a new parliament was choſen, which ſoon diſcovered a firm ſpirit of oppoſition to the king's views. Charles now ſaw the expediency of conciliating the affections of his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he removed his brother, the Duke of York, from his preſence; and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his ducheſs, and daughter Anne, to Bruſſels. The king, in his ſpeech to his new parliament, made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded ſupplies, as well for diſbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons ſoon after its aſſembling, for the excluſion of James duke of York, from the ſucceſſion; the king, to qualify this ſpirit of reſentment againſt his brother, propoſed ſeveral reſtrictions to be laid on a popiſh ſucceſſor; but theſe, not equalling the views of parliament, were rejected; and, in the ſecond ſeſſion, the excluſion-bill paſſed the houſe of commons, by a majority of ſeventy-nine voices. Being carried to the houſe of peers, it produced a long and very warm debate, all which time the king was preſent; when it was at length thrown out. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it. Beſides the influence of the court over them, the church of England, they imagined, or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of

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preſbyterianiſm than of popery; which, though favoured by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation. The commons were greatly incenſed at this repulſe. All things threatened a renewal of the troubles from which the kingdom had been but lately ſet free. When the king applied for money to enable him to maintain Tangiers, which he declared his preſent revenues unable to defend, inſtead of complying, they voted ſuch an addreſs as was, in reality, a remonſtrance, and one little leſs violent than that famous remonſtrance which uſhered in the civil wars. All the abuſes of government, almoſt from the beginning of the reign, are there inſiſted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogation and diſſolution of parliament; and as all theſe meaſures, as well as the ſeveral plots which had either been diſcovered, or ſuppoſed, are therein aſcribed to the machinations of Papiſts, it was plainly inſinuated, that the king had, all along, laid under the influence of that party, and was, in reality, the chief conſpirator againſt the religion and liberties of his people.

Among the acts paſſed by this parliament, in favour of liberty, was the habeas-corpus bill; and we, at preſent, owe our abſolute ſecurity from arbitrary impriſonment chiefly to the patriots of that parliament. The great charter had laid the foundation of this ineſtimable privilege; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but ſome proviſions were ſtill wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evaſion or delay from miniſters and judges. By the act of habeas-corpus, it was prohibited to ſend any one to priſon beyond ſea. No judge, under ſevere penalties, muſt refuſe, to any priſoner, a writ of habeas-corpus, by which the gaoler is directed to produce, in court, the body of the priſoner, and to certify the cauſe of his detainer and impriſonment. If the gaol lies within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in

three days, and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances: every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the ſame offence.

The year 1680 is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory. The party in the oppoſition compared the courtiers to the Iriſh banditti, called Tories; and they, in return, expreſſed their contempt of the anti-courtiers, by claſſing them under the title of Whigs; a term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were ſuppoſed to live upon a kind of butter-milk, called *whig* in that country. From theſe beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which ſerve to diſtinguiſh parties in England. The tories were ſo denominated from the Iriſh word *Toree*, or "Give me."

The king having now, for more than thirty years, uniformly ſpurned at the intereſt of his people, and ſacrificed it, on every occaſion, to the baſeſt views, a general diſcontent had diffuſed itſelf over all ſects and parties. Thoſe bewitching manners, which, in a youthful monarch, had reconciled the nation to his wildeſt exceſſes, had, by this time, loſt their charm; beſides, Charles had changed his diſpoſition as he began to decline into years. He found it neceſſary however to call another parliament, which he appointed to meet him at Oxford, the city of London having long taken the lead in meaſures of oppoſition. The new parliament, however, ſeemed ſtill more turbulent than the former; the members came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight, and not to deliberate. The repreſentatives of London were, in particular, attended by a numerous body of horſemen, wearing cockades, inſcribed, *No Popery, no ſlavery*. The ſame ſpirit that had animated the former parliament, ſeemed redoubled in this. They

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inſiſted on the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion; they perſiſted in declaring that all Papiſts ſhould be baniſhed, and their children educated in the Proteſtant religion; that the doctrine of paſſive obedience was injurious to the rights of ſociety. In a word, they were diſpleaſed with every meaſure the king propoſed, and prepared to recall the former ariſtocracy into the kingdom. Charles, ſeeing that nothing could be obtained from ſo reſtive an aſſembly, once more diſſolved his parliament, with a ſtedfaſt reſolution of never calling another.

From the moment the royal and parliamentary commotions were ended, Charles ſeemed to rule with deſpotic power, and was reſolved to leave to his ſucceſſor the faults and the misfortunes of his adminiſtration. He became ſuſpicious, auſtere, and even cruel; he entertained ſpies and informers round the throne, and impriſoned all ſuch as he thought moſt daring in their deſigns. He reſolved to humble the preſbyterians; theſe were diveſted of their employments, and their places filled with ſuch as approved the doctrine of non-reſiſtance. The clergy teſtified their zeal to the court by their writings and ſermons; the partizans of the king were moſt numerous; but thoſe of the oppoſite faction were more enterprizing; the mutual animoſity of each was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king openly declared himſelf at the head of a faction. The city of London particularly fell under his reſentment; he deprived them of their charter, and only reſtored it when he had ſubjected the election of their magiſtrates to his immediate authority. This was ſo mortifying a circumſtance, that all the other corporations in England ſoon began to fear the ſame treatment, and were ſucceſſively induced to ſurrender their charters into the hands of the king. Conſiderable ſums were exacted for reſtoring theſe charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the diſpoſal of the crown. Reſiſtance now, however juſtifiable,

could not be ſafe; and all prudent men ſaw no other expedient but ſubmitting patiently to the preſent grievances.

There was a party, however, in England, that ſtill cheriſhed their former ideas of freedom, and reſolved to reſtore liberty to their country by dethroning the king who acted in ſuch a deſpotic manner. The principal conſpirators were Monmouth, Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hamden grandſon to the great man of that name. James duke of Monmouth, was the king's natural ſon, by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the reſtoration. He poſſeſſed all the qualities proper to engage the affections of the populace: he had a graceful perſon, and was brave, generous, affected popularity, and was tenderly beloved by his father. He had ſpent a part of his youth at Oxford, and another part in the army; ſo that he had the advantage of private friendſhips joined to thoſe which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Roſs, a Scotchman, inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or perſuading him to make others believe, that the king had been privately married to his mother. Roſs even prevailed on Coſins biſhop of Durham to write a certificate of their marriage, and to depoſit it in a ſtrong box in his own houſe; by obſerving, that, if the Duke of York ſhould be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view; and, if he ſhould not, that all arts were juſtifiable to exclude a Papiſt from the throne: circumſtances which Coſins immediately communicated to the king, but which that prince diſregarded. Yet, after Coſins's death, Roſs ſpread a report, that he had left ſuch a certificate behind him; and this intelligence was greedily received by the multitude. Monmouth engaged the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheſhire. Lord Ruſſel fixed a correſpondence with Sir William Courtney,

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Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promiſed to raiſe the weſt. Shafteſbury, with one Ferguſon, an independent clergyman, and a reſtleſs plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. Theſe ſchemes had been laid in 1681: but the caution of Lord Ruſſel, who induced the Duke of Monmouth to put off the enterpriſe, ſaved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shafteſbury was ſo ſtruck with a ſenſe of his impending danger, that he left his houſe, and, lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners to an open inſurrection. At laſt, enraged at the numberleſs cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his own friends ſingly. However, after a long ſtruggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of ſucceſs, and fled to Amſterdam, where he ſoon after died. The loſs of Shafteſbury, though it retarded, did not ſuppreſs, the deſigns of the conſpirators. The remaining ſix formed a council; they correſponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland; and reſolved to proſecute the ſcheme of the inſurrection, though they widely differed in principles from one another. Monmouth aſpired at the crown; Ruſſel and Hamden propoſed to exclude the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion, and redreſs the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for reſtoring the republic, and Eſſex joined in the ſame wiſh. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, ſought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private intereſt in the confuſion.

Beſides theſe, there was a ſet of ſubordinate conſpirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among theſe was Colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer; Lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the ſame ſtamp; Goodenough, under-ſheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; Ferguſon, an independent miniſter; and ſeveral attorneys, merchants, and tradeſmen,

men, of London. But Rumſey and Ferguſon were the only perſons that had acceſs to the great leaders of the conſpiracy. Theſe men undertook the deſperate reſolution of aſſaſſinating the king in his way from Newmarket; Rumbold, one of the party, poſſeſſed a farm upon that road, called the *Rye-houſe*, and from thence the conſpiracy was called the *Rye-houſe plot*. They deliberated on a ſcheme of ſtopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and ſhooting him through the hedges. The houſe in which the king lived at Newmarket accidentally took fire, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days ſooner than was expected; to which circumſtance he owed his ſafety. Soon after this the conſpiracy was diſcovered; Ruſſel, Sidney, and Walcot, were executed; Eſſex cut his own throat; Hamden was fined forty thouſand pounds; and ſcarcely one eſcaped who had been in any manner concerned, except the Duke of Monmouth, who was the moſt culpable of all.

This was the laſt blood that was ſhed on account of plots or conſpiracies, which continued during the greateſt part of this reign. Severe puniſhments, however, were inflicted on many who treated the Duke of York unworthily. The famous Titus Oates was fined one hundred thouſand pounds for calling him a Popiſh traitor; and he was impriſoned till he ſhould pay it, which he was abſolutely incapable of. A ſimilar ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton Colt. Sir Samuel Barnadiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds for having in ſome private letters reflected on the government. The government of Charles was now as abſolute as that of any prince in Europe; but, to pleaſe his ſubjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the Lady Anne, his niece, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark.

This was the laſt remarkable tranſaction of this extraordinary reign. On February 2d, 1685, about eight in the morning, the king was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy;

apoplexy; being dreſſed, and juſt come out of his cloſet, where he had been for ſome time after he had riſen out of his bed. By being blooded, he was reſtored perfectly to his ſenſes; and there were great hopes of his recovery the next day. On the fourth day the phyſicians deſpaired of his life, and therefore ſent for the queen. He was in his perfect ſenſes when ſhe arrived. She threw herſelf on her knees, and aſked his pardon for all her offences. He replied, that ſhe had offended in nothing; but that he had been guilty of offences againſt her, and aſked her pardon. He ſpoke with great affection to the Duke of York, and gave him excellent counſel for his future conduct. He adviſed him to adhere to the laws with ſtrictneſs, and invariably to ſupport the church of England. The duke ſeemed anxious to convince him before he died how little he intended to follow his advice. Having removed the biſhops, and ſeveral of the lords who attended the bed of the king, he ſent for Huddleſton, a Romiſh prieſt. In the preſence of the duke, the Earl of Bath, and Trevanion a captain in the guards, Huddleſton gave the extreme unction to the king, and adminiſtered to him the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. All this was done in the ſpace of half an hour. The doors were then thrown open. Six prelates, who had before attended the king, were ſent to give him the ſacrament. Kenn biſhop of Bath and Wells, read the viſitation of the ſick; and, after he ſaid that he repented of his ſins, the abſolution. The king aſſiſted with ſeeming devotion at the ſervice; but his mouth being diſtorted with fits, and his throat contracted, he could not ſwallow the elements. He profeſſed, however, his ſatisfaction in the church of England; and expired the ſixth of February, between eleven and twelve o'clock; having reigned twenty-five years, and lived fifty-five.

It will now be neceſſary to review ſome of the moſt important commercial events of this reign, which have

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not been fully treated of.---Early in the reign of Charles II. the acts which prohibited the use of logwood were repealed. Two several acts of parliament had been passed, and two royal proclamations issued, in which it was called "a pernicious material used in dying." The act which encouraged the use of it recites, that it was at length found, that the dyers of England were possessed of the art of fixing the colours made of logwood, or blockwood, so that they are found as lasting and serviceable as the colours made with any other sort of dying wood. In the year 1662, the English, from the American continent, first began to cut down the logwood trees which grew in profuse abundance on the uninhabited coast of the province of Jucatan, and more especially in the bay of Campeachy; in the latter of which places they made a settlement for that purpose. This first settlement was near Cape Catoche, next to the Laguna di Terminoes. By the year 1667, this English settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood was carried thence both to New England and Jamaica. When the famous American treaty was concluded between England and Spain in 1670, each nation was confirmed in the possessions and settlements it then held in America. This encouraged more English to settle with the logwood cutters; it being in a desolate and unplanted country, where the Spaniards had given them no sort of annoyance. Two years after, however, the Spaniards began to molest these settlers, and to represent to the court of England this colony in the bay as an encroachment on the rights of Spain. Soon after, the Spaniards became so uneasy at the settlement, and the practice of cutting and carrying away logwood, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas, which were freighted with it. This conduct produced a warm remonstrance from the Earl of Arlington in 1674, to Sir William Godolphin, the English minister at Madrid; but the matter of right was

was never decided, so that it remained for a considerable time a contested point between the two nations; but our people till very lately remained in possession of the settlement which they had made in the bay.

By an act passed 14th Charles II. cap. 15. for regulating the trade of silk throwing, it appears, that above forty thousand men, women, and children, were employed in that branch of trade. The Protestants in France, being cruelly persecuted, fled over to England in great numbers, where they received protection, and were granted many privileges. By the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, the Protestant subjects of Louis XIV. were no longer suffered to enjoy the free and public toleration and exercise of their religious mode of worship, and of their faith, doctrine, and discipline. This intolerent spirit in his *most christian* majesty was productive of great good to almost all the Protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, whilst it greatly injured France, both in her population and wealth. "A part of the suburbs of London," says Voltaire, meaning Spitalfields, "was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. For other arts, some thousands of them helped to people and increase the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making crystal in perfection, which, for that reason, was about the same time lost in France." It is supposed that fifty thousand settled in England, bringing with them, as has been computed, three millions sterling in money and effects. Thus were the English enabled to set on foot many manufactures and fabrics, which, till then, had been peculiar to France; these they presently carried to greater perfection than they had before reached. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, of silk, linen, paper, glass, and hats: the silks called alamodes and lustrings, were derived entirely from them; they were

likewiſe greatly ſerviceable in manufacturing brocades, ſattins, black and coloured mantuas, black paduaſoys, ducapes, watered tabbies, black velvets; alſo watches, cutlery-ware, clocks, jacks, locks, ſurgeons-inſtruments, hardware, toys, &c.

The yearly expence of maintaining the navy, during the firſt ten years of Charles the Second's reign, is laid down, from authentic vouchers, to be five hundred thouſand pounds. But, after the concluſion of the ſecond Dutch war, this expence was much reduced, until the year 1678, when a war with France was generally expected. Mr. Pepys, ſecretary of the admiralty, has given us an account of the ſtate of the navy at that time, which was as follows:

5	firſt rates,	containing	3135 men.
4	ſecond -	-	1555
16	third -	-	5010
33	fourth -	-	6460
12	fifth -	-	1400
7	ſixth -	-	423
6	fire-ſhips	-	340
83			18323

The commerce with France, which the king's indiſcretion gave riſe to and encouraged, was very deſtructive to the intereſts of the kingdom; other branches of foreign trade proſpered, particularly the African Company, who may be conſidered in the zenith of their glory at this time. The Eaſt-India Company was in a flouriſhing ſtate, and the ſettlements in America and the Weſt-India iſlands opened a new and invaluable branch of commerce to England.

In the year 1683 King Charles ſent Lord Dartmouth, with twenty ſhips of war, utterly to demoliſh the town, caſtle, and mole, of Tangier, and to choak up its harbour. It appears to have been a place of ſtrength when the Portugueſe were in poſſeſſion of it; but

but great ſums had been allotted by the parliament for the augmentation of its works; and, although notorious abuſes were practiſed in the application of the money, many great improvements were made whilſt it remained in the hands of the Engliſh. For the ſecurity of its haven, a ſuperb mole was conſtructed, the extremities of which are ſaid to have run out ſix hundred yards into the ſea; but all theſe improvements were thrown into one promiſcuous ruin. The garriſon, artillery, and ſtores, were brought to England; whereby, ſays Rapin, the king was freed from a conſiderable annual expence, and the garriſon, which was chiefly compoſed of popiſh officers and ſoldiers, ſerved to augment the king's forces at home, thereby keeping in awe thoſe who were impatient of the yoke. The poſſeſſion of Tangiers would, probably, at this day, have been leſs an object of jealouſy to the other European powers, than Gibraltar is on the oppoſite ſide of the Straits; but whether its harbour and ſituation on the ſouth ſhore, where the current is ſaid to run much ſtronger into the Mediterranean than on the other ſide, would have, in all reſpects, equally anſwered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not preſume to determine. The rubbiſh of the demoliſhed mole, and of the walls of the town, being thrown into the harbour, has ſo effectually choaked it up, that it is ſaid it can never hereafter be a commodious port. Mr. Butcher relates, that, by the king's order, a conſiderable number of milled crown pieces, of that reign, was buried among the ruins, which may poſſibly, many centuries hence, declare to ſucceeding ages, that the place was once a member of the Britiſh empire.

About 1670 the Duke of Buckingham invited over from Venice the moſt able artiſts in the different branches of glaſs-making, and thereby a manufacture was eſtabliſhed, which grew to be of great conſequence, inſomuch that we now export the very beſt glaſs to the very place from whence the art was at firſt drawn.

The king's couſin, Prince Rupert, and ſeventeen other perſons of quality and diſtinction, having, in the year 1669, ſent out Captain Newland to Hudſon's Bay, where he ſettled at Port Nelſon; and Captain Gilham alſo returning with ſome ſucceſs, in his proſpect of a trade with the Indians in that bay, King Charles granted theſe noble adventurers an incorporating charter, dated 2d of May, 1670, which inveſted them with nothing ſhort of abſolute uncontrol'ed power in thoſe immenſe territories; but the power of the crown being reſtrained, particularly in the right of granting charters, at the revolution, theſe dangerous privileges were then revoked; and, to render charters valid, it became neceſſary they ſhould receive the ſanction of parliament.

Whilſt England was rent with civil broils, the ſpirit of the people being at length incenſed at the ſhameleſs manner in which the intereſts of the nation were ſacrificed to the baſeſt purpoſes, the noble colony of Pennſylvania, in North-America, took its riſe. This country had hitherto been chiefly a part of Virginia, the remainder making a part of the colony of New-York. Sir William Penn, the admiral, who, among other ſervices which he rendered his country, was greatly aſſiſting in procuring to England the poſſeſſion of Jamaica, as had been ſhewn in the tranſactions of thoſe times, was fortunate enough to ſtand on good terms with the firſt Charles, afterwards with Cromwell, and then, on the re-eſtabliſhment of the regal government, with Charles II. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men of his profeſſion uſually are, had advanced ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money to government; and theſe debts were not diſcharged at his death. It was propoſed to his ſon, Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philoſophy, that, inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. By the charter granted to him 28th of February, 1680,

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it was ceded to him, as the manner of such grants then was, almost as a sovereignty; and he determined to make it the retreat of those of his religious persuasion, who were made uneasy at home, through the bigotry and persecution of spiritual courts, and other intolerant measures. In 1681, Mr. Penn first carried out with him a large embarkation of those quakers, which were afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there, he found many English families already settled, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations. His first arrival in the New World was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property, by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but, though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms, yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himself, as much as possible, a legal possessor of the territory; and, by the use he made of it, supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake. Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legisla-

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tion, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendour and private felicity, liberty, and property. The mind dwells with pleaſure on this part of modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians depopulating the country before they took poſſeſſion of it, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated. It is time to obſerve the dawnings of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity, riſing from among the ruins of a hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as ſavage. This virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man, who acknowledged a God, to the rights of a citizen, and made every Chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Pennſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them. Deſirous of immortalizing his name, he veſted in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits ſhould be annexed to his employment, except ſuch as were voluntarily granted; and that he ſhould have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be choſen. To avoid, as much as poſſible, every kind of corruption, it was ordained, that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift, than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in

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ſearch of peace? Penn aſſigned one thouſand acres of land for twenty pounds ſterling. Thoſe who were not able to purchaſe conſiderable poſſeſſions, received ſmaller allotments of land, in proportion to the numbers of their children and dependents, on paying a quit-rent of about a penny an acre. Such primary inſtitutions would be neceſſarily productive of an excellent legiſlation; and accordingly, the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn, were manifeſted in the rapid and continued proſperity of Pennſylvania, which, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day. The climate however is naturally very wholeſome, and has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation; the waters, equally ſalubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock, or ſand; and the year is tempered by the regular return of the ſeaſons. When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every ſort of grain, and eſpecially rye and maize; which a happy experience had ſhewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on, in all parts, with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint-work of quakers, anabaptists, members of the church of England, methodists, presbyterians, moravians, lutherans, and catholics.

The year 1660 gave birth to the Royal Society of London, incorporated by Charles II. of which we cannot but remark, that its improvement in astronomy and geography are alone sufficient to exalt its reputation, and to demonstrate its great utility even to the mercantile world, without insisting on its many and great improvements in other arts and sciences, some of which have also a relation to commerce, navigation, manufactures, mines, agriculture, &c. To this society the world is indebted for the late discoveries appertaining to light---the principles of gravitation---motion of the fixed stars---geometry of transcendent qualities---and an hundred other discoveries, from which every part of the habitable world has received benefit.

So greatly was the commerce, and consequently the wealth, of England increased by this time, that several political writers affirm, that the revenue of England, soon after the restoration, was quintuple of what it was at the reformation from popery, at the time of Henry VIII. This, we apprehend, may be probable enough; yet no author, that we know of, has clearly made it out to be precisely such a proportion of increase; and therefore we shall leave it as we found it, a mere matter of opinion, rather than mislead our readers by positive assertions, void of absolute proof, which is not so easy to come at. However this may be, yet, notwithstanding all the political mischiefs under which the people had groaned, London was still abounding in wealth and grandeur, compared to its condition in former ages. The gay appearance of goldsmiths' shops shining with plate,

plate, all along the ſouth ſide of the ſtreet called Cheapſide, then named Goldſmith's-row, was thought very grand, and exhibited a noble appearance of national wealth. The ſuburbs of London had alſo expanded themſelves every way, particularly in Bloomſbury, Covent-garden, and St. Giles's; as alſo in the liberties of Weſtminſter, though never famous for any kind of trade or commerce, except the ſtaple. The Strand likewiſe now united London and Weſtminſter, by a moſt beautiful range of palaces of the nobility, with gardens behind, reaching to the Thames, where they had their reſpective water-gates and ſtairs; each palace being named after its owner and occupier, ſuch as Eſſex, Arundel, Norfolk, Saliſbury, Worceſter, Exeter, Hungerford, Howard, York, and Northumberland, houſes, all built in one noble range, at equal diſtances from each other, in the grandeſt ſtile of antique architecture. Such was the ſtate of London, when it was viſited by two of the moſt dreadful calamities that could poſſibly have ſucceeded each other. In the month of March, 1665, it was viſited by the plague, which, notwithſtanding every precaution that medical ſkill and wiſe regulations could give, raged with ſuch unabating fatality, that three, four, and five, thouſand of the miſerable inhabitants died weekly. The amazing number of deaths increaſed ſo faſt, that the uſual mode of interment could no longer be obſerved, large pits were dug at Holywell-mount and other outlets of the city, to which the dead were brought in carts, collected by the ring of a bell, and the doleful cry of "Bring out your dead." The bodies were put into carts, with no other covering than rugs or ſheets tied round them, and were thrown into the pits in promiſcuous heaps. All trade was at a ſtand, the ſhops were ſhut up, and every day had the appearance of a ſolemn ſabbath. Graſs grew in the Royal Exchange, and in moſt of the public ſtreets; and Whitechapel might be miſtaken for a green field. During the time of this dreadful cala-

mity, all foreign trade with London was almoſt extinct, as no port in France, Flanders, Spain, or Italy, would admit our ſhips, or correſpond with us; the Turks, indeed, and the Grecian Iſles, to whom the plague was familiar, were not ſo ſcrupulous. The Flemings and Dutch made great advantage of this circumſtance, by buying goods in thoſe parts of England that had not received the infection, carrying them home, and then exporting them again as their own.

Scarcely were the citizens ſettled in their habitations after this dreadful calamity of the plague, than they experienced the moſt extenſive and dreadful conflagration ever recorded in the annals of this country. It began at one o'clock in the morning, of the 2d of September, 1666, and over-ran three hundred and ſeventy-three acres of ground within the walls, and burnt thirteen thouſand houſes, eighty-nine pariſh-churches, beſides chapels; and only eleven pariſhes within the walls were left ſtanding. To this account may alſo be added the magnificent building of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Cuſtom-houſe, and Blackwell-hall; many hoſpitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other ſtately edifices. Many thouſands of citizens, who by this calamity were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, till a ſufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief; happily, however, only ſix lives were loſt. Various were the conjectures on the cauſe and authors of this fire, few being inclined to think it caſual. Many would have it to be brought about by the malice of the republicans, while others aſcribed it to the papiſts. But each of theſe ſuſpicions ſeem to have had their riſe in the violent animoſities that poſſeſſed the minds of the different parties at that period. The prevailing opinion, however, was, that it originated in the malice and treachery of the popiſh faction; and accordingly that opinion

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ſtands recorded upon the elegant monument erected on Fiſh-ſtreet-hill, in memory of this dreadful calamity. The damage ſuſtained by this terrible accident has been uſually computed at upwards of ten millions ſterling! So vaſt a loſs of merchandiſe, treaſure, plate, and houſehold furniture, and ſo immenſe an expence for rebuilding the city, muſt unqueſtionably have proved a great obſtruction for ſome time to the commerce of London; yet this noble city, by redoubling its diligence, in a few years recovered its priſtine foreign and domeſtic trade; and has ſince ſo wonderfully increaſed in both theſe reſpects, as to have become the greateſt commercial city in the univerſe.

In p. 53 we have ſeen the origin of private banking. Things went on in this manner till the year 1672, when they had jointly and ſeverally amaſſed of the public's money, *one million three hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix pounds*, which was depoſited, for ſafety, in the king's treaſury, and from whence they were wont to receive weekly whatever ſum or ſums were wanted for their cuſtomers. At this time Charles II. happening to be much ſtraightened for caſh, he ſhut up the exchequer, and ſeized upon all the money, to carry on his war with Holland, as we have mentioned before. This violent meaſure (a ſpecies of open robbery never before nor ſince experienced) bankrupted the goldſmiths, and is ſaid to have brought near ten thouſand families to poverty. A general murmur ran through the nation; and the public became ſo clamorous, that the king, for his perſonal ſafety, was obliged to bind himſelf to pay the principal out of his revenue, and, till that could be effected, to allow an intereſt of ſix pounds per cent. per annum; but the principal was never paid. However, the parliament, 12 William III. cap. 12, provided for a large arrear of intereſt then due, and ſettled the intereſt at three per cent. for the future. The debt was hereby made redeemable, on paying one moiety of the princi-

pal ſum, viz. ſix hundred and ſixty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three pounds, farther confirmed by an act of Queen Anne, which moiety became the proper debt of the public, and was finally ſubſcribed into the South-ſea capital ſtock in the year 1720. Upon this ſubject, Sir William Temple, in his Miſcellanies, makes the following remark: "The credit of our exchequer is irrecoverably loſt, by the laſt breach with the bankers; for *credit is gained by cuſtom, and ſeldom recovers a ſtain.*" Several bitter invectives againſt the trade of banking were now publiſhed; and many years after, when the preſent cuſtom of receiving and paying money from morning till night in an open ſhop came firſt to be introduced, it was thought to be a ſtrange ſort of thing; and Sir Joſhua Child, and ſeveral other authors of credit, wrote vehemently againſt it. The bankers were accuſed of being a pack of uſurers; of keeping the intereſt of money at at leaſt two per cent. higher than otherwiſe it would be, which was productive of many evils; and alſo, that they made money ſcarce amongſt individuals, by ſurreptitiouſly collecting all they could into their own poſſeſſion, whereby the country was drained in every part, and the ſubjects injured. But, upon the whole, whatever might have been the practice of bankers then, the caſe is now quite otherwiſe. The diſpatch given by our modern bankers to merchants and dealers in general, is found ſo convenient to trade, that people are greatly accommodated by lodging caſh with them, to be drawn out from time to time as they want it, without receiving or expecting any intereſt whatever; and the facility with which bills, notes, drafts, bonds, and real perſonal ſecurities, are and may be converted into immediate money through the medium of private banks, both in London and in the country, muſt be acknowledged a very great public conveniency, and one of the moſt important aids to trade and commerce that cuſtom or invention ever introduced.

JAMES

JAMES II. immediately on his acceſſion, aſſembled the privy council; where, after ſome praiſes beſtowed on the memory of his predeceſſor, he made profeſſions of his reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſhed government both in church and ſtate; and, as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, he would ſtill go as far as any man in maintaining all its juſt rights and privileges.

This diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. Addreſſes came from all quarters, full of duty, nay of the moſt ſervile adulation. From this charge, however, we muſt except that of the quakers, which is remarkable for its good ſenſe and ſimplicity: "We are come (ſaid they) to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told that thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England no more than we: wherefore we hope that thou wilt grant us the ſame liberty which thou alloweſt thyſelf. Which doing, we wiſh thee all manner of happineſs."

The king, however, ſoon ſhewed, that he either was not ſincere in his promiſes, or that he entertained ſo lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmoſt ſincerity could tend very little to the ſecurity of the liberties of the people. All the cuſtoms, and the greater part of the exciſe, which had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James without a new act for that purpoſe. He went openly to maſs with all the enſigns of his dignity; and even ſent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admiſſion of England into the boſom of the Catholic church.

James's firſt parliament, which was compoſed moſtly of zealous tories, was ſtrongly inclined to comply with the meaſures of the crown. They voted unanimouſly, that they ſhould ſettle on the preſent king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king, till the time of

of his deceaſe. For this favour, James aſſured them, that he would ſecure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but, with regard to religion, no anſwer could be extorted, for that he was reſolved to alter. In every thing, however, religion excepted, James merited every praiſe. He applied himſelf to buſineſs with unremitting attention. He managed his revenue with the ſtricteſt economy. He retrenched ſuperfluous expences, and ſhewed himſelf zealous for the glory of the nation. He endeavoured to expel from court the vice which had prevailed ſo much during the former reign, and to reſtore decency and morality. He preſided daily at the councils, at the boards of admiralty and treaſury. He even entered into the whole detail of the concerns of the great departments of the ſtate. But his bigotry for the Romiſh religion ſullied all his good qualities, and rendered him feared for his violence, where he was not deſpiſed for his weakneſs.

But, whilſt every thing was ſubmitted in tranquillity to James at home, a ſtorm was gathering abroad to diſturb his repoſe. For a long time the Prince of Orange had entertained hopes of aſcending the Britiſh throne, and had even uſed all his endeavours to exclude James from it. Monmouth, who, ſince his laſt conſpiracy, had been pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland. He was received by the Prince of Orange with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and even became his chief favourite, through whom all favours were to be obtained. When the news of Charles's death arrived, indeed, the prince made a ſhow of altering his note, and diſmiſſed Monmouth, though he ſtill kept a cloſe correſpondence with him. The duke retired to Bruſſels, where, under the auſpices of the Prince of Orange, he reſolved to invade England, with a deſign of ſeizing the crown for himſelf. He was ſeconded by the Duke of Argyle, who formed the ſcheme of an inſurrection in Scotland; and, while Monmouth attempted to make a riſing in the weſt

of

of England, it was reſolved that Argyle ſhould alſo try his endeavours in the north. The generoſity of the Prince of Orange, however, did not correſpond with the warmth of his profeſſions. Monmouth derived from his own plate and jewels his whole ſupply for the war; and the enthuſiaſm of a rich widow ſupplied Argyle with ten thouſand pounds, wherewith he purchaſed three veſſels, which he loaded with arms and ammunition.

This nobleman, during the troubles of Scotland in 1681, had been committed priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh by the parliament of that kingdom; and ſoon after tried and found guilty of high-treaſon, but, by the interpoſition of his friends, judgment was reſpited. He improved this opportunity to make his eſcape in this manner. His daughter, the Counteſs of Argyle, being come to viſit him in priſon, he changed clothes with one of her footmen, and, when ſhe went away, he followed behind her, holding up her train. But, being ſtill fearful of a diſcovery, he purpoſely dropt the counteſs's train into the dirt; and the lady, affecting to be provoked with anger at the careleſſneſs of her footman, bedaubed his face with her draggled tail, by which means the duke eſcaped undiſcovered. However, the parliament paſſed ſentence on him for high-treaſon, ordering the ſame to be put in execution whenever he ſhould be taken; but he was never heard of from that time till his appearance as above. Argyle, firſt attempted to make a deſcent on the north of Scotland, but, being diſappointed by the vigilance of the Biſhop of Orkney, he landed in the weſt highlands, at Cample-town, or Lockhead, on the 20th of May, 1685, and pitched his firſt camp near Dunſtafnage, a ruinous caſtle of his own in the province of Lorn.

King James, who was apprehenſive of an inſurrection in Scotland, even before Argyle's landing, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed at Edinburgh, enjoining his ſubjects to aſſiſt him againſt ſuch attempts. The malcontents on their part alſo publiſhed a declaration, ſetting

ſetting forth the reaſons which obliged them to take up arms againſt the king; Argyle alſo ſent letters to his friends and acquaintances, to deſire their aſſiſtance. His army conſiſted but of about three or four thouſand men. Having marched with theſe to the town of Roſa, in the iſle of Boot, and pitched his camp there, he was ſoon after purſued, and almoſt ſurrounded, by the Earl of Dumbarton, general of the king's army, and ſeveral other parties commanded by ſeveral lords.

Argyle, conſidering that his army was too ſmall to oppoſe the king's forces, marched into the province of Argyle, and having fortified the caſtle of Ellengreg, as well as the ſhort time he had to do it would allow, he there ſecured his arms and ammunition, for he had arms with him for five thouſand men. He cauſed his ſhips to anchor under the cannon of a little fort raiſed for that purpoſe; for, having quitted the caſtle to make inroads, one of his parties was cut off by the Marquis of Athol, with the loſs of two hundred men. Captain Hamilton, at the ſame time arriving, with a ſquadron of the king's ſhips, ſeized upon thoſe of Argyle's, and took the caſtle without any oppoſition. The rebels endeavoured to cover themſelves by the rivers and marſhes; but the Earl of Dumbarton, making a haſty purſuit, overtook them at the paſſage of Clyde; but, as it was late in the evening, deferred attacking the enemy till the next morning. In the mean time, the rebels paſſed the river in great haſte, and diſperſed, all of them, except a few whom Argyle with difficulty prevailed on to ſtay and guard him; but even theſe ſoon abandoned him, Dumbarton having by this time paſſed the river, and ſent out ſeveral parties in purſuit of the fugitives. Argyle having eſcaped to Renfrew, Sir John Cochran offered to ſupply him with guides to conduct him ſafe to Galloway; but leading him into a boggy place, on pretence, or with intention, to bring him off from the king's army, moſt of thoſe who had followed him hitherto were obliged to leave their

horſes, and every one to ſhift for themſelves. The Earl of Argyle was returning by himſelf towards the river Clyde, when two ſturdy fellows, who belonged to Grenock, an officer in the king's army, having met him, without knowing who he was, bid him ſtand and ſurrender. He anſwered them with a ſhot and miſſed them, when they, who happened to be better markſmen, wounded him with a piſtol's ſhot. Thereupon the earl, taking both his piſtols, left his horſe, being too tired to carry him further, and, making towards the river, began to ſtep into the water. A peaſant, who accompanied the firſt aggreſſors, followed him cloſe with a piſtol in his hand. The earl attempted to ſhoot him, but, miſſing him, the fellow knocked him down; as he fell, he cried out, "Oh! unfortunate Argyle!" This diſcovered him to his adverſaries, who immediately took him and ſurrendered him to the king's officers. During the ſhort time he lived, he was uſed with the utmoſt ignominy. He was firſt conducted to Glaſgow, and then to Edinburgh, bareheaded; a hangman walking before him with an ax. He was hanged a few days afterwards, and his head ſet upon the caſtle of Edinburgh.

About the ſame time the Duke of Monmouth ſailed from the Texel, with three ſhips, and landed at Lyme in Dorſetſhire, with only fourſcore followers. But it was not long before they were increaſed to about two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. The king was greatly ſurpriſed when he heard of his landing, as he was in hopes that his fleet, then cruiſing at ſea, would have intercepted him. The duke took poſſeſſion of the little town of Lyme, ſent out ſeveral of his followers into the neighbouring countries, to cauſe an inſurrection, and to invite the people to join with him, he alſo publiſhed a declaration, in behalf of himſelf and thoſe who had taken up arms with him. The duke marched from Lyme to Taunton, where he was well received, and proclaimed king. He ſoon after marched to Bridgewater, ſtill increaſing his ſmall army as he

moved towards Bath, the militia ſtill flying two days march before him, to give the king time to raiſe more forces; ſuch being their orders from court. Being arrived at Philip's Norton, the duke cut off by ſurpriſe, or ambuſh, the greateſt part of a troop of horſe belonging to the king's army, and the Duke of Grafton narrowly eſcaped being killed. This encouraged him to proceed within two miles of Briſtol, where he called a council of war; in which he was adviſed not to enter the city, but retreat back to Bridgewater. This diſheartened his party, and prevented many from joining him. It was judged a very impolitic ſtep; for the Briſtol people had not only no force, except their militia, to oppoſe him, but were alſo much inclined to his intereſt. And here he might have furniſhed himſelf with men, money, and arms, and have marched into Glouceſterſhire, where a great number of clothiers, and many of the nobility, would have joined him.

The Prince of Orange offered to come over to aſſiſt King James; but this he, through jealouſy, declined. The king at this time found himſelf well ſupported by his nobility and other brave officers, who ſo cloſely beſet the duke, that, ſeeing his men daily deſert in great numbers, he reſolved to hazard all at one puſh, and fight with unequal force, and either vanquiſh or die, like a brave and heroic prince. This being his reſolution, he marched out of Bridgewater by night, to ſurpriſe the king's army, then encamped at Sedgmore. But his guide, miſtaking the way, unhappily led him upon a detachment of Dumbarton's regiment placed in his way, who encountering him, the king's whole army was alarmed, and fell upon him. However, the fight was obſtinate and dubious for a-while. For though Colonel Oglethorpe ſoon broke the rebel's horſe, commanded by Lord Grey, who made but an indifferent reſiſtance; yet the infantry behaved bravely, being commanded by the duke himſelf; who, during the whole action, ſupported that reputation for courage, which

which he had before gained in the world. But as the king's army was ſuperior in number, and artillery, and good diſcipline, the victory was wreſted from the duke, after a three-hours conteſt. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and one thouſand in the purſuit. Monmouth fled above twenty miles from the field of battle, till his horſe ſunk under him. He then alighted; and, exchanging clothes with a ſhepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themſelves with fern. The ſhepherd being found in Monmouth's clothes by the purſuers, increaſed the diligence of the ſearch; and by the means of blood-hounds he was detected in his miſerable ſituation, with raw peaſe in his pocket, on which he had lived for ſome days. He burſt into tears when ſeized by his enemies; and petitioned, with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, for his life. On his way to London, he wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, promiſing diſcoveries, ſhould he be admitted into his preſence. The curioſity of James being excited by the letter, he ſent Sheldon a gentleman of the bed-chamber to meet Monmouth. In his converſation with Sheldon, he aſked who was in chief confidence with the king? and, being anſwered that it was Sunderland, Monmouth knocked his breaſt in a ſurpriſe, and ſaid, "Why then, as I hope for ſalvation, he promiſed to meet ME." He deſired Sheldon to inform the king, that ſeveral of his accomplices in rebellion were in the confidence of his majeſty; and he gave him a particular account of the part which the Prince of Orange had acted in this whole affair. Sheldon, on his return from the Duke of Monmouth, began to give an account to the king what he had learned from the unhappy priſoner. Sunderland, pretending buſineſs, came into the room. Sheldon ſtopped, and ſignified his deſire to ſpeak in private with the king. James told him he

might ſay any thing before that lord. Sheldon was in great perplexity; but being urged, he told all that Monmouth had aſſerted. Sunderland appeared for ſome time confuſed: at length he ſaid, with a laugh, "If that is all that he can diſcover to ſave his life, he will derive little good from his information." Monmouth himſelf was ſoon after brought before the king. Sunderland by an artifice enſured the death of the unfortunate duke, to ſave himſelf and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange. When he ſaw Monmouth's letter to James, and heard the diſcoveries made by Sheldon, he is ſaid to have adviſed him, that, as he could aſſure him of the certainty of a pardon, he ought to deny what he had ſaid in prejudice of his friends, who could ſerve him on ſome other more favourable occaſion. The credulous duke, ſwayed by the advice of Sunderland, ſuppreſſed what he had ſaid to Sheldon, when he was examined by the king. He mentioned nothing of the concern which the Prince of Orange had taken in the invaſion; though a point on which James was already ſufficiently informed. D'Avaux, the French miniſter to the ſtates, had given a circumſtantial account of the whole conduct of the prince to Louis XIV. who had ordered it to be privately communicated to the King of England. The miniſter who had been ſent from Holland to congratulate James on the ſuppreſſion of Argyle's rebellion, was in a grievous agony when he heard that the king was reſolved to ſee Monmouth. "Though he found that he had ſaid nothing of his maſter (ſaid James), he was never quiet till Monmouth was dead."

The unfortunate duke made various attempts to obtain mercy. He wrote to the queen-dowager; he ſent a letter to the reigning queen, as well as to the king himſelf. He begged his life, when admitted into his preſence, with a meanneſs unſuitable to his pretenſions and high rank. But all his entreaties and ſubmiſſions were of no avail. James told him, that he was much

affected with his misfortunes, but that his crime was too dangerous in its example to be left unpunished. In his last moments he behaved with a magnanimity worthy of his former courage. When he came to the scaffold, he behaved with decency and even with dignity. He spoke little; he made no confession; nor did he accuse any of his friends. Circumstances are said to have attended his death that created a horror among the spectators. The executioner missed his blow, and struck him slightly on the shoulder. Monmouth raised his head from the block, and looked him full in the face, as if reproaching him for his mistake. He struck him twice again, but with feeble strokes; and then threw the axe from his hands. The sheriff forced him to renew his attempt; and the head of the duke, who seemed already dead, was at last severed from his body.

The fondness of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: they believed that one of his friends who resembled him, had consented to lose his life in public to save that of the duke. They started at every rumour of his name; and long expected, with impatience, when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause, and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by the king's order, attended the execution. When he afterwards gave an account of it to James, he said, "Your majesty has got rid of one enemy, but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sunk deep into his mind.

It would have been happy for the nation, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was already shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle of Sedgemore. Lord Feversham, after the action, hung up, without any trial, twenty prisoners, and Colonel Kirk nineteen. The latter with a savage refinement made a sport of the murders he committed. Having

a gallows

a gallows erected at his door, it was his practice, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drunk to the health of the king, or the queen, or Judge Jefferies. When he saw the feet of the dying shake, in the last agonies of departing life, he would say, "They should have music to their dancing," and ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarters in the country, without distinction between the innocent and the guilty; and those instruments of his violence he named in derision, "His lambs." These proceedings were in the eye of the law robberies and murders; yet, in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them.

Lord Chief Justice Jefferies tried the prisoners on the western circuit. A man, cruel in his temper, brutal in his manners, and a contemner of all decency. A power was given him in his commission to command the forces of the west, so that the terrors both of the law and of the sword were united in his person. In his charge to the grand jury at Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he directed them to enquire after, "not only all principals, but all aiders and abettors, of those who had been concerned in the rebellion;" a charge which moulded the jurymen to his will, by the consideration of their personal safety, because there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends and relations in distress. He pressed the prisoners to confess, "to save himself trouble," as he expressed it. And some of those who maintained their innocence against all his menaces, and were afterwards found guilty, he ordered for execution the same day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail on the prisoners to confess by promises of pardon: when the prisoners adhered in court to their confession they were condemned to be hanged: when they retracted, these officers

officers were evidences at hand to prove their confeſſion. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jefferies declared with a jeſt, "that, if any lawyer or parſon came in his way, they ſhould not eſcape him." The evidence againſt another priſoner being doubtful, the juſtice of peace, who had given information againſt him, remarked it to Jefferies, and interceded in his behalf. Jefferies anſwered, "You have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." When the ſiſters of this unhappy man hung on the wheels of the judge's coach to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip. Two women were condemned to be burnt alive, for indulging the ſweeteſt of human virtues, compaſſion for the diſtreſſed; one of theſe was Lady Liſle, who was upwards of ſeventy years of age. She had given refuge to Hicks, a diſſenting clergyman who had begged the protection of her houſe, and truſted his life in her hands. She was widow to Lord Liſle, one of the regicides, who on that account had been aſſaſſinated in Switzerland. She was taken by Colonel Penruddock, whoſe father had been adjudged to death by Lord Liſle, for his attachment to the royal cauſe. The deportment of this lady at her trial was ſpirited and highly pathetic. She delivered herſelf to the court in the following manner. "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The perſon whom I have received under my roof, was convicted by no ſentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him? My own principles have ever been loyal, none in England ſhed more tears for the death of the king's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to ſerve the preſent king; but, although I could not fight for him, my ſon did, againſt the Duke of Monmouth. I ſent the ſon to atone for the offences of the father: it was I who bred him up to fight for

his

his ſovereign: with my laſt breath I will bleſs that life which takes away mine." Such forcible reaſoning had no weight where humanity and juſtice were excluded; Jefferies, in his charge to the jury, admired the juſtice of God which had made Penruddock the inſtrument of ſhedding blood for blood. The jury, notwithſtanding, returned into court with doubts, becauſe there was no proof of her knowing that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jefferies told them, that her receiving him, after ſhe ſuſpected it, was equivalent; and, when they found her guilty, he ſaid, "If ſhe had been my mother, I would have found the ſame verdict againſt her." Two tory peereſſes applied to the king for her pardon, declaring that ſhe had done favours to their party in their greateſt extremities; but Jefferies, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promiſe from James not to pardon her, by aſſuring him that all her pretenſions to loyalty were falſe: the only favour ſhe could obtain was, the change of her ſentence from burning to beheading. Theſe ſeverities of Jefferies, frightful even to thoſe to whom he committed their execution, were imputed at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone; but other cauſes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign. It was then made appear, that he had exacted the ſum of fifteen thouſand pounds for his own uſe, from a Devonſhire gentleman, named Prideaux, for not bringing him to trial.

The people might have been willing on this occaſion to diſtinguiſh between the king and his miniſters of vengeance, had not the cleareſt marks of his ſovereign's good pleaſure rewarded the perpetrator of theſe cruelties. Jefferies, on his return, was for theſe eminent ſervices created a peer; and ſoon after was appointed to the dignity of a chancellor. Theſe rigours of the weſtern circuit raiſed more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation naturally brave and therefore generous. At length the king found they had rendered

dered him so unpopular that it became absolutely necessary to disavow them. In his Memoirs he complains, with apparent indignation, of "the strange havock made by Jefferies and Kirke in the west;" and that he attributed the unpopularity, which afterwards deprived him of the crown, to the violence and barbarity of those pretended friends of his authority. He even ascribes their severities, in some degree, to a formed design of rendering his government odious to his subjects; and from hence his friends have presumed, that no exact or impartial accounts of these cruelties had reached his ears, at least till long after they were committed.

James now began to throw off the mask, and to endeavour openly to establish popery and arbitrary power. He told the house of commons, that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many Catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all who were employed by the crown. He found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they at length acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dissolved for their tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons that could be more ready to acquiesce in the measures of the crown; but the dissolution of this parliament was generally looked upon as a sign that James never intended to call another. The parliament being dismissed, James's next step was to secure a Catholic interest in the privy council. Accordingly four Catholic lords were admitted, viz. Powis, Arundel, Belasis, and Dover. Sunderland, who saw that the only way to gain preferment was by popery, became a convert. Rochester, the treasurer, was turned out of his office, because he re-

fuſed to conform. Even in Ireland, where the Duke of Ormond had long ſupported the royal cauſe, this nobleman was diſplaced as being a Proteſtant; and the Lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman-catholic, was placed in his ſtead. In his zeal for popery, it is ſaid, that James ſtooped ſo low as even to attempt the converſion of Colonel Kirke: but the daring ſoldier told him, that he was pre-engaged; for he had promiſed the King of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan. At laſt the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an oppoſition to court meaſures. The pulpits now thundered out againſt popery; and it was urged, that it was more formidable from the ſupport granted it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impoſe ſilence on theſe topics; inſtead of avoiding the controverſy, the Proteſtant preachers purſued it with greater warmth. To effect his deſigns, the king determined to revive the high commiſſion court, which had formerly given the nation ſo much diſguſt, and which had been aboliſhed for ever by act of parliament. An eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was iſſued out anew, by which ſeven commiſſioners were inveſted with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England.---The next ſtep was to allow a liberty of conſcience to all ſectaries; and he was taught to believe, that the truth of the Catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In ſuch a caſe, the ſame power that granted liberty of conſcience might reſtrain it; and the Catholic religion alone be allowed to predominate. He therefore iſſued a declaration of general indulgence, and aſſerted that nonconformity to the eſtabliſhed religion was no longer penal. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration only to the Catholics, without interceding in the leaſt for the other diſſenters who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the Proteſtants were totally expelled from all offices of truſt

truſt and profit, and Catholics put in their places. Theſe meaſures ſufficiently diſguſted every part of the Britiſh empire; but to complete the work, James publicly ſent the Earl of Caſtlemaine ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obedience to the pope, and reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion. Innocent, who then filled the chair, was too good a politician to approve thoſe childiſh meaſures, and gave his ambaſſador a very cool reception. He was ſenſible that the king was openly ſtriking at thoſe laws and opinions, which it was his buſineſs to undermine in ſilence and ſecurity. The cardinals were even heard facetiouſly to declare, "That the king ſhould be excommunicated for thus endeavouring to overturn the ſmall remains of popery that yet ſubſiſted in England."

An eccleſiaſtical court was erected, with power to puniſh all delinquents, or ſuch ſo reputed by the court, with all manner of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The Vice-chancellor of Cambridge was ſummoned before this court for having refuſed to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of maſter of arts; the vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, but the univerſity perſiſted in their refuſal, and the king thought proper to deſiſt from his purpoſe. The vice-preſident and fellows of Magdalen college in Oxford were treated with more ſeverity. They refuſed to admit one Farmer, a new convert, and one of a profligate life, who was nominated by the king to the place of preſident, now become vacant. The king next nominated Parker biſhop of Oxford; but he was equally obnoxious for the ſame reaſons. The king repaired in perſon to Oxford; he reproached the fellows with inſolence and diſobedience; but neither he, nor his miniſters, could prevail to alter the reſolutions of this ſociety. The fellows were expelled by his order, and their places filled with Papiſts, who he knew would be more obedient to his commands.

His designs hitherto were sufficiently manifest; but he was now resolved entirely to throw off the mask. By his permission the pope's nuncio made his public entry into Windsor in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks in the habit of their respective orders. He next published a declaration for liberty of conscience, by which all restraints upon popery were taken away. The church of England took the alarm; the peculiar animosity of the people against the Catholic religion proceeded not less from religious than temporal motives. Seven bishops, who had received the king's express orders to cause this declaration of liberty of conscience to be read in their churches, refused to comply. They drew up a modest petition to excuse their refusal, which only served to increase the king's resentment and rage. They were cited before the council, and still adhered to their former resolution, with that firmness which is the characteristic of virtue. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for publishing sedition, and abridging the king's prerogative. They were committed to the Tower, conducted thither amidst the prayers and condolence of an incredible multitude of the populace, who regarded them as sufferers for truth. The day appointed for their trial arrived; this cause was looked upon as the crisis of English freedom; the counsel managed the debate on both sides with learning and candour; the jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night, but next morning returned into court, and declared the bishops not guilty. The verdict was received with a loud and general shout in the court, which was answered by one as general from the multitude that surrounded the court; the intelligence instantly spread, and a thousand shouts, from different parts of the town, reverberated the universal joy of the people. These acclamations were continued from village to village, until they reached the army encamped on Hounslow-heath, which was seized with

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the ſame ſympathetic tranſport. The king was, at that inſtant, in Lord Feverſham's tent, and, hearing the camp in an uproar, ſent his lordſhip to enquire into the cauſe. Feverſham returned, and reported, "It was nothing but the joy of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Nothing!" ſaid the king, "do you call that nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them!" Immediately he ſet off for London, and iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the populace from aſſembling in the ſtreets. The reſtraint increaſed their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. Some perſons were tried for diſorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them, though often ſent back by the judges to re-conſider their verdicts. Immediately after this, the king ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the biſhops. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refuſed except two hundred. He ſent alſo a mandate to the new fellows whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura. As the king found the clergymen every where averſe to his meaſures, he was willing next to try what he could do with the army. He thought if one regiment ſhould promiſe implicit obedience, their example would ſoon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his preſence, and deſired that ſuch as were againſt his late declaration of liberty of conſcience ſhould lay down their arms. He was ſurpriſed to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few Roman-catholic ſoldiers.

A fortunate circumſtance happened about this time in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the biſhops, the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if

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any thing could at that time, have ſerved to eſtabliſh him on the throne: but ſo great was the animoſity againſt him, that a ſtory was propagated that the child was ſuppoſititious; and ſo great was the monarch's pride, that he ſcorned to take any precaution to refute the calumny.

Though the enthuſiaſm of James himſelf bordered upon madneſs, the moſt wild of his religious projects ſeem to have been ſuggeſted by his enemies to accompliſh his ruin. The Earl of Sunderland, whom he chiefly truſted, was a man of abandoned principles, inſatiable avarice, and fitted by nature for ſtratagem, deception, and intrigue. The love of money was his ruling paſſion, and he ſold his influence to the higheſt bidder. To ſuch a degree was he mercenary, that he became at once the penſioner of the Prince of Orange and of the King of France. The former, who had long fixed his eye on the Engliſh throne, watched James's motions, and took every advantage of his errors. He had laid his ſchemes ſo extenſively, that nothing but the birth of a male heir to the crown of England could poſſibly prevent him from an almoſt immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom. This circumſtance made the proſpect of the Princeſs Mary's ſucceſſion to the crown very diſtant and uncertain. And thus an event, which the king had ſo long made an object of his moſt ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne, proved the immediate cauſe of his ruin and downfal. James, on the other hand, was extremely diſguſted at the oppoſition ſhewn to his favourite plan of indulgence to the Catholics, and took every occaſion to expreſs his diſpleaſure, as well againſt the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes. He revived ſome complaints of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, with regard to a ſettlement in the Eaſt; he recalled the Britiſh troops which were employed

ployed in the Dutch ſervice, and put his navy in a formidable condition. The Dutch concluded, from theſe hoſtile proceedings, that James ſought only an occaſion and pretence for making war upon them. William hereupon reſolved to be leſs attentive to appearances, and aſſiduouſly to cultivate the affection of the Engliſh Proteſtants in general, and to unite them againſt the Catholics. With theſe views he ſent over Dykvelt as his envoy to England, with inſtructions, beſides publicly remonſtrating on the conduct of affairs both at home and abroad, to apply, in his name, to every ſect and denomination. This commiſſion Dykvelt executed with ſo much addreſs, that all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from thoſe dangers with which their religion and liberty were ſo imminently threatened.

While other great revolutions of ſtate have been the conſequence of long intrigue, or the effects of inſtant revenge, the favour which the enterprize of the Prince of Orange found in England, ſprung from the impulſe of reaſon and liberty; an impulſe which affected almoſt the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to its ſucceſs. Admiral Herbert, though a man of great expence, and ſeemingly of little religion, threw up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the prince of the diſaffection of the ſeamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Ruſſel too, couſin-german to the unfortunate lord of that name, prompted by revenge, contributed to ſpread diſcontents among the Engliſh ſeamen, and thus remove from the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Ruſſel, at this important criſis, ſubmitted to the duties of a meſſenger, ſailing often between England and Holland, to preſerve the communication between the parties of both countries. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the Earl of Sunderland, under pretence of drinking the waters of Spa, paſſed over to Holland,

and conveyed the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the king. The Whigs, in conformity to their ancient principles of liberty, which had led them to attempt the excluſion-bill, eaſily agreed to oppoſe a king, whoſe conduct had juſtified whatever his worſt enemies had prognoſticated concerning his ſucceſſion. The Tories, and the church party, finding their paſt ſervices forgotten, their rights invaded, their religion threatened, agreed to drop, for the preſent, all overſtrained doctrines of ſubmiſſion, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature; thereby ſhewing that they did not maintain the abſolute unlawfulneſs of ſubjects reſiſting their ſovereign, only they differed from others about the degree of provocation which juſtified reſiſtance. Thus all party animoſity was, for a time, laid aſleep in England, and every one ſecretly joined in a ſcheme of reſiſting their unhappy and miſguided ſovereign. The Duke of Grafton, at this critical time, was of the moſt eſſential ſervice to the Prince of Orange. He had aſked of the king the command of the fleet in the place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refuſed his requeſt; either irritated by this refuſal, or inflamed by the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promiſe from two-thirds of the captains, that they would not oppoſe the Prince of Orange. It was concerted, that, as ſoon as the prince landed in England, his friends ſhould diſperſe into the ſeveral counties, to raiſe inſurrections, and diſtract the common enemy. All theſe perſons kept the ſecret firm to each other.

William yielded to theſe earneſt and reſpectable applications from England, and undertook the defence of a nation which looked up to him as their only deliverer. The ties of affinity, which are ever weakeſt in thoſe of exalted rank, had, in this inſtance, many additional conſiderations to abate their force; the alliance was, at firſt, contracted againſt the approbation of the princeſs's father, and the moſt incongruous diſſimilitude

tude of temper, manners, ſentiments, principles, and purſuits, had contributed, for ſeveral years, to eſtrange theſe kindred princes from each other; beſides, the merit of delivering a great nation from the yoke of a tyrant, was ſufficient to wipe off any reproach which might be caſt upon the Prince of Orange, for having violated a decorum of private life; and was ſufficient, in the eyes of reaſonable men, to make ample compenſation. This prince, born to be the ſcourge of tyrants, and the illuſtrious diſpenſer of liberty to mankind, had already reſcued his native country from the ruin which awaited it: he was equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing conſtitutional liberty in the Britiſh iſles; and employed the latter years of his life in ſupporting the general independency of Europe. He may therefore be ſaid to have contributed more to the general intereſts of ſociety and mankind, perhaps than any other perſon which hiſtory furniſhes an account of.

This able ſtateſman was as ſwift to execute as he was ſlow to reſolve. When he had determined on an expedition into England, he began his preparations very early in the year 1688, deſigning to embark the enſuing winter, as in that ſeaſon France would not be able to attack Holland, whilſt the ſtadtholder was abſent. The firſt ſix months were ſpent in procuring money, providing armaments at home, and forming alliances with neighbouring ſtates, for the ſecurity of the Dutch frontiers. Theſe ſteps indicated nothing more than providing for the ſecurity of the united ſtates. With great ſecreſy and addreſs he applied large ſums of money, which had been raiſed for other purpoſes, and which the great influx of ſpecie occaſioned by the reſort of French refugees to Holland had contributed to increaſe, to the uſe of this expedition. But the fineſt ſtroke of the prince's policy was his art in deluding the pope Innocent XI. for, taking advantage of that pontiff's animoſity againſt France, he perſuaded him into a belief, that the emperor meant to ſend a large

army to the Rhine, which was to be joined by one equally great from Holland; and that the Prince of Orange himſelf was to penetrate, at the head of this confederated force, into France. For the furtherance of this deſign, the pope remitted conſiderable ſums to the emperor, which, thus obtained from the head of the Roman catholic world, were employed in dethroning a Roman catholic king.

He prevailed on the ſtates to equip forty ſhips of war againſt the Algerines, and ſecretly added twelve to them by his own authority. Some time before he had made a more important attempt, by a demand on the King of England to ſend twenty Engliſh ſhips of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the ſame ſervice, by virtue of an old treaty which then ſubſiſted between the two ſtates; but this requiſition James did not think fit to comply with. The ſhips were no ſooner made ready for ſea in the ports of Holland, than they were ſent out to different ſtations remote from England, with orders to remain there for ſome time, and then to return; a ſtratagem which concealed equally the greatneſs of the armament, and its deſtination. Under colour of protecting the electorate of Cologne, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the ſea in a few days. Whilſt he pretended to adjuſt the confederacy againſt France, the prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards Duke of Portland, conferred perſonally with the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the princes of the houſe of Lunenburgh, other German princes, and the governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans ſhould replace, with their own troops upon the Rhine, thoſe which the prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spaniſh forces ſhould protect the Dutch frontier on the ſide of the Netherlands, and garriſon their towns. Seven thouſand Swedes were hired to be tranſported into Holland. During theſe tranſactions the

the Elector of Brandenburgh died, but with his laſt breath recommended the projected undertaking to his ſon. Bentinck was ſent to ſound the new elector, and found him more attached to the cauſe than even his father had been. The deſign was intruſted only to thoſe perſonages, or their miniſters, and to five Dutchmen. All theſe kept the ſecret as profoundly as the Engliſh malcontents had done, who ſaw their ruin in a diſcovery. The King of England believed the preparations in Holland were intended againſt France: the King of France ſometimes thought they were deſtined to act againſt Denmark, and at other times againſt the liberties of the prince's own country. As the autumn advanced, theſe warlike preparations became more rapid and more open; yet, even during this period, every art was contrived to miſlead and perplex obſervers. Veſſels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and by private merchants; theſe were continually ſhifting their ſtations. Arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and ſent up towards Nimeguen. Some of thoſe boats landed their contents and returned; theſe cargoes were ſecretly brought back in veſſels which had been ſent up empty under other pretences; others depoſited their freight among the iſlands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maeſe; and others were conveyed down to the ſea by various routes.

All the prince's artifices could not however entirely conceal his deſigns from the French court; for Louis, ſuſpecting them, ſent intelligence to James, and, at the ſame time, offered to join the Engliſh fleet with a ſquadron of French ſhips, and to ſend over any number of troops James ſhould think neceſſary for his ſecurity. But the king, not ſenſible of his own danger, rejected all his propoſals. Fully perſuaded of the ſacredneſs of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made a deep impreſſion on his ſubjects; and, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent which every where broke out, rebellion appeared incredible. Yet

experience ought to have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For, the year before, Admiral Strickland, who was a papiſt, having directed the prieſts to ſay maſs on-board his ſhip, the ſeamen roſe in a mutiny, and inſiſted on throwing the prieſts over-board. Strickland proceeded to ſeverity: the ſeverity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ſhip to ſhip. The king was obliged to repair to Portſmouth to pacify the ſeamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends, for it was impoſſible to ſatisfy them till the prieſts were removed from all the ſhips. The king now found the diſpoſition of the army not more favourable to him: he reſolved to augment his forces with Iriſh troops, and to begin with the regiment of the Duke of Berwick, his natural ſon; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refuſed to admit them; and five captains ſteadily adhered to him: upon which they were all caſhiered; and had not the diſcontents of the army, on this occaſion, been very apparent, it was reſolved to puniſh thoſe officers for mutiny.

At length, on the 23d of September, the king received a letter from the Marquis of Abbeville, his miniſter at the Hague, which contained certain information of the intended invaſion. He inſtantly turned pale, and ſtood motionleſs; the letter dropped from his hand; his eyes were open, and he found himſelf on the brink of a precipice, which his deluſions had hitherto concealed from him. He now ſuddenly retracted thoſe fatal meaſures by which he had created to himſelf ſo many enemies. He replaced, in all the counties, the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the teſt and the penal laws: he reſtored the charters of all the corporations; annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſions, and abrogated its oppreſſive deciſions. In his preſent diſtreſs he laid aſide his former haughtineſs, and deigned to careſs thoſe biſhops whom he had

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ſo lately proſecuted and impriſoned: but all theſe meaſures were conſidered as ſymptoms of fear, and not of repentance.

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange publiſhed his declaration, and cauſed it to be diſperſed throughout England. It enumerated all the grievances of the nation; the diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and raiſing a jeſuit to be privy-counſellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building churches, colleges, and ſeminaries, for that ſect; diſplacing the judges who refuſed to paſs ſentence according to orders received from court; the annulling the charters of all corporations; the treating of the moſt modeſt petitions, even from perſons of the higheſt rank, as criminal and ſeditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papiſts; the aſſuming of an abſolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland; and the violent preſumptions againſt the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. The Prince of Orange declared, that his ſole aim in coming to England, was to redreſs theſe grievances, and protect the people from the king's evil counſellors, by their having a free and legal parliament, who might provide for the ſafety and liberty of the nation; adding, that no one could entertain ſuch hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other deſign than to procure the full and laſting ſettlement of religion, liberty, and property; and that, though the Engliſh miniſters, terrified by this enterprize, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the above grievances, there ſtill remained an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the crown, by which thoſe grievances might be inſtantly reſtored; for which there could be no other remedy but by a full declaration of all the rights of the ſubject in a free parliament. Beſides this declaration, there was publiſhed a letter from the prince to the army; another from Herbert to the ſeamen;

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and a tract directed to the people, compoſed by Biſhop Burnet, in defence of the lawfulneſs of the prince's undertaking.

The Prince of Orange ſailed from Helvoetſluice with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men, the 21ſt of October, 1688. The firſt night they were at ſea, a furious tempeſt attacked them, the horror of which was augmented by the darkneſs of the ſeaſon; the largeneſs of the fleet greatly encreaſed the danger, and the terrors of the landmen, the number of horſes, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put haſtily on-board, and ill faſtened, added equally to the diſtraction and the danger. In two hours the whole fleet was diſperſed, ſo that in the morning ſcarcely two ſhips could be ſeen together. As reports are always increaſed by diſtance, it was believed in England that the whole armament was loſt. James received the news at dinner, and cried out, "It is not to be wondered at, for the hoſt has been expoſed theſe ſeveral days!" The fleet however preſently re-aſſembled, without having ſuſtained any material damage, and proceeded again to ſea. In compliment to England, Herbert led the van; Evertzen, a Dutch admiral, brought up the rear; the Prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himſelf in the centre, his ſhip carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, with this motto: "I will maintain the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of England."

The fleet made ſail again with a fair wind on the firſt of November. At firſt it ſteered to the northward, in order to miſlead the advice-boats which lay to obſerve it, by making them ſuppoſe, that he meant to land in the north of England. This ſtratagem ſucceeded; theſe flying veſſels carried the report to England, and James, in conſequence thereof, directed a conſiderable part of his army to march to the north. As ſoon as night came on, and the courſe of the fleet could be no longer obſerved, the prince tacked about,

and put his whole force before the wind to the weſtward. On the ſecond morning after he ſailed, his fleet was diſcovered ſtretching towards the channel, with all the ſail it could ſpread. His ſhips formed a line of twenty miles in extent; ſo that, while the rear was in a manner cloſe at hand, the van could ſcarcely be diſcerned. During ſeven hours, this huge body continued paſſing in the view of both ſhores, which were covered with innumerable ſpectators, who ſtood gazing with admiration, mixed with terror, upon a ſpectacle at once ſo pleaſing and delightful; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations, according to the different religions, or intereſts, or paſſions, of the nations, before whom it paſſed. When the fleet approached the coaſt of England, the prince changed his ſhip, and ſailed at the head of all, to be the foremoſt in danger; diſplaying his own ſtandard, in order to make himſelf more conſpicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day he lay by in the ſtraits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet ſhould come up; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in ſo narrow a ſea, and, by that means, to conquer firſt the imagination of thoſe whom he was invading; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the Engliſh fleet which lay behind him at the gun-fleet. In this council it was reſolved to change the diſpoſition of the fleet, and that the prince, with the tranſports, and three ſhips of war to guard him, ſhould ſail down the channel in the van, while all the other ſhips of war ſhould remain in the rear, to engage the Engliſh, in caſe they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up in one body, of about ſixteen ſhips deep, which ſtretched from coaſt to coaſt, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the ſtraits. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike inſtruments again ſounded, the veſſels ſaluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited

hibited in the ſight of the people, who were aſſembled on the coaſts of both kingdoms. But the ſame ſtrong eaſt wind which carried the prince triumphantly through the channel, prevented the Engliſh fleet from coming out: for the ſhips rode at their ſtation, with their yards and top-maſts down, unable to purchaſe their anchors, and ſaw part of the Dutch fleet paſs within their ſight. Theſe circumſtances were favourable to the Engliſh fleet; for though the Earl of Dartmouth, who commanded it, was not ſuſpected of betraying the prince whom he ſerved; yet he knew that ſome of his captains had engaged not to fight againſt the Prince of Orange, and that others were irreſolute what to do; he had however reſolved to render the contraſt conſpicuous between their conduct and his own.

Before the fleet of Holland reached the place of its deſtination, the Engliſh fleet was under ſail; but a ſudden change of wind to the ſouthward, wafted the Prince of Orange into Torbay, the place at which he had propoſed to land, whilſt it drove Lord Dartmouth's fleet back to its former ſtation. Even the firmeſt minds, in great ſituations, are apt to regard omens: the prince was anxious to land on the fourth of November, becauſe it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage; but the Engliſh rejoiced that the landing could not be effected until the next day, which, being the anniverſary of the gunpowder treaſon, they imagined would again prove a lucky day to the Proteſtant cauſe. As ſoon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expreſſing their gratitude by prayers to that Providence, which they believed had interpoſed in their favour.

When the Prince of Orange firſt landed in England, he found the country very backward to repair to his ſtandard, ſuch terrors had the ſeverities of Jefferies, and the royal army, ſpread far and wide. Slight repulſes were not ſufficient to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, encountered adverſity: he continued

tinued ten days in expectation of being joined by ſome or other of thoſe malcontents that had invited him over, but in vain; he then began to deliberate about re-embarking his forces, and he is ſaid, in a fit of peeviſhneſs at his diſappointment, to have publickly declared his intentions to depart immediately, and to leave the people of England and their king to ſettle their differences by themſelves. However, before he had taken any ſteps for a return, ſeveral perſons of conſequence joined him; whereupon the country people flocked to his ſtandard: every day brought him a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength. The nobility, which had compoſed the court and council of King James, now left their former maſter, to ſolicit protection from a new power. The Prince of Orange obſerved however, with emphaſis, to the firſt conſiderable body of gentry who waited upon him, "that he had come upon *their* invitation, and had expected them *ſooner*."

At length every part of the kingdom caught the ſame ſpirit. The Earl of Danby ſeized York; Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire; the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the Earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamſhire embraced the ſame cauſe. In the mean time a petition for a free parliament, ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers, was preſented to the king, and no one thought of oppoſing or reſiſting the invader. The officers of the army ſeemed all diſpoſed to prefer the intereſt of their religion and their country to their fidelity to a prince who had violated his engagements to both. Lord Colcheſter was the firſt who deſerted, with a few of his troops, to the prince. Lord Lovelace made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the Duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner. Lord Cornbury, ſon of the Earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and brought a conſiderable part of them to the prince's quarters; and Fe-

verſham, the general, was told by ſeveral officers, that their conſcience would not allow them to fight againſt the Prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, who will ſoon make a very conſpicuous figure in this hiſtory, who had been raiſed from the rank of a page, inveſted with a high command in the army, and created a peer by James, thought his obligations to his religion and his country ſuperior to thoſe he owed to his king; and carried with him to the prince, the Duke of Grafton, natural ſon of the late king, Colonel Berkeley, and ſome troops of dragoons. The letter which Churchill wrote the king upon that occaſion is as follows:

"SIRE, Since men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity, when they act contrary to their intereſts; and tho' my dutiful behaviour to your majeſty, in the worſt of times (for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majeſty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reaſonably convince your majeſty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your majeſty at a time when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects, much more from one who lies under the greateſt perſonal obligations imaginable to your majeſty. This, ſir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppoſe, and with which, I am inſtructed, nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majeſty has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed againſt your majeſty's true intereſt and the Proteſtant religion. But, as I can no longer join with ſuch to give a pretence, by conqueſt, to bring them to effect, ſo will I always, with the hazard of my life and fortune,

fortune, (ſo much your majeſty's due,) endeavour to preſerve your royal perſon and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful reſpect that becomes your majeſty's moſt dutiful and moſt obliged ſubject and ſervant, CHURCHILL."---The Prince of Orange, who was an excellent judge of merit, immediately promoted his lordſhip to the rank of a lieutenant-general, and ſhewed him every other mark of countenance and favour.

James had arrived at Saliſbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received the news of Lord Churchill having gone over to the prince, which gave him the moſt ſenſible concern. There were none in whom he could confide; and, as the whole army diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent, he ſuddenly marched with them towards London; but ſtopping at Andover, the firſt ſtage of his retreat, Prince George, together with the young Duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewett, and other perſons of diſtinction, deſerted him in the night, and haſted to the Prince of Orange's camp. This news no ſooner reached London, than the Princeſs Anne withdrew herſelf, in company with the Biſhop of London and Lady Churchill, and retired to Nottingham, where ſhe was received with great reſpect by the Earl of Dorſet, and the gentry of the county formed a troop for her guard.

The princeſſes had been educated in the Proteſtant religion, by the order of the late king; and James no ſooner heard of his being deſerted by his daughter Anne, than he burſt into tears, and cried, "God help me, my own children have forſaken me!" Unable to reſiſt the torrent which prevailed againſt him, he ſeemed as much depreſſed by his adverſity as he had been vainly elated by his proſperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in iſſuing writs for a new parliament, and in ſending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commiſſioners, to treat with the Prince of

Orange. At the ſame time addreſſing himſelf to the Earl of Bedford; "You, my lord, ſaid he, are an honeſt man; have great credit, and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Sir, ſaid the earl, with a ſigh, I am a feeble old man; but I had ſon, who, if he had been now alive, could have ſerved your majeſty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the great Lord Ruſſel, whom James had cauſed to be unjuſtly executed in the laſt reign. At this the king was ſo ſtruck, that he could not anſwer a word.

The queen, ſeeing every thing in confuſion, was filled with terror; the popiſh courtiers, and, above all, the prieſts, dreading that they ſhould be the firſt ſacrifice, reſolved to leave the kingdom, and were deſirous of carrying the king along with them. The general defection of the Proteſtants made the king regard the Catholics as the only ſubjects on whoſe advice he could rely. The news he received from all quarters filled him with continual alarms; and, impelled by his own fears, and thoſe of others, he precipitately embraced the reſolution of eſcaping into France; but firſt ſent off the queen, and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himſelf diſappeared in the night, on the 12th of December, attended only by Sir Edward Hale, and made the beſt of his way to a ſhip which waited for him near the mouth of the river. This meaſure, which was the moſt grateful to his enemies, he performed with the utmoſt privacy, and nothing could equal the ſurprize with which the court and the city were ſeized, at the diſcovery of this ſtrange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confuſion, he had not appointed any one to exerciſe any part of the adminiſtration in his abſence; he had recalled all the writs which had been iſſued for the election of a new parliament; and, as he was ſailing down the Thames, threw the great ſeal into the river.

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The government being thus diſſolved, the populace roſe in a tumult, and not only deſtroyed all the maſs-houſes, but rifled the houſes of the Spaniſh ambaſſador and Florentine envoy, where many of the Catholics had lodged their moſt valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, had diſguiſed himſelf in a waterman's habit, in order to paſs out of the kingdom; but, being diſcovered by the populace, he felt that mercileſs treatment which he had been wont to inflict on others. He was carried in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the lord-mayor, where that countenance was expoſed ignominiouſly, which was wont to ſtrike terror on all who beheld it. Jefferies having been, with difficulty, reſcued from the violence of thoſe who ſurrounded him, was committed to the Tower, more for protection than for puniſhment, where he died of a diſeaſe contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult.

The Prince of Orange was active in improving the national ferment to the moſt beneficial purpoſes; neither did he heſitate to aſſume an authority which the preſent exigency had put into his hands. Beſides the general popularity attending his cauſe, a new incident made his approach to London ſtill more welcome. In the general conſternation which had ſeized the people, a rumour was ſpread, either by chance or deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh in the king's army had taken arms, and begun a maſſacre of the Proteſtants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible eaſily find credit: none enquired into the truth of the maſſacre; all ſuppoſed it to be true: the panic ſhot through the kingdom like an electric ſhock. In the city the report was ſaid to have been brought from the country; in the country it was ſaid to have come from the city. The alarm-bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they ſaw, at a diſtance, the ſmoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in the neighbourhood. The people in every village, and in

every town, ran to arms; the whole kingdom exhibited a ſcene of conſternation and horror; and in London the ſhops were ſhut, and the doors of moſt houſes barricadoed. It is ſurprizing that the Catholics were not all ſacrificed in the rage which naturally ſucceeds to ſuch popular panics.

In the midſt of this general anarchy, ſome of the peers, together with many of the biſhops who happened to be in London, aſſumed the reins of government. This body, which was compoſed of about thirty, formed themſelves into a regular council, fixed a council-room, appointed Lord Haliſax for their preſident, and exerciſed all powers of prerogative. They directed the magiſtrates of London to raiſe the militia; iſſued orders to the fleet, to the king's diſbanded army, and to all the conſiderable garriſons in England; and they publiſhed a declaration, in which they cenſured the king for his flight, and reſolved to apply to the prince for protection from the dangers of popery and ſlavery. Their orders were every where obeyed: from the higheſt appearance of diſorder, all things, in a few days, ſubſided into compoſure and ſubordination.

While the prince was marching leiſurely towards London, news arrived, that the king had been ſeized by ſome fiſhermen at Feverſham, as he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; and had been abuſed by the mob till he was known; but that the gentry had interpoſed and protected him, yet refuſed to conſent to his eſcape. This news being delivered to the council while they were ſitting, they ordered Lord Feverſham, with two hundred of the king's life-guards, and his coaches, to attend him; and to leave it to himſelf either to retire abroad, or to return. He choſe to return to London; but the Prince of Orange ſent a meſſage to him, deſiring him to advance no nearer the capital than Rocheſter. The meſſenger miſſed James by the way. The king ſent Feverſham with a letter to the Prince of Orange, requeſting his preſence in London

to

to settle the nation. He himself proceeded to that place, and arrived on the sixteenth of December. Never prince returning with victory to his capital was received with louder acclamations of joy. All the streets were covered with bonfires. The bells were rung, and the air was rent with repeated shouts of gladness. All orders of men crowded to his coach; and, when he arrived at Whitehall, his apartments were crowded with people who came to express their joy at his return.

The Prince of Orange received the news of his return with an haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to force him by threats and severities to relinquish the throne. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and to displace the English. The king was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale's. He desired, however, permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast, and opposite to France. This was readily granted: and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that the king meditated an escape to France.

The king, surrounded by the Dutch guards, arrived at Rochester on the nineteenth of December. The restraint put upon his person, and the manner in which he had been forced from London, raised the indignation of many, and the compassion of all. The English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur; and, had it not been for the timidity and precipitation of James himself, the nation had certainly returned to their allegiance. He remained three nights at Rochester, in the midst of a few faithful friends. The Earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aylesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, were there, and, with other officers of merit, the gallant Lord Dundee. They argued against his flight with united efforts. Several bishops, some peers, and many officers, intreated his stay in some part of England.

land. Meſſage followed meſſage from London. They repreſented that the opinions of men began to change, and that events would daily riſe in favour of his authority. Dundee added his native ardour to his advice. "The queſtion, ſir, (ſaid he), is, Whether you ſhall ſtay in England, or fly to France? Whether you ſhall truſt the returning zeal of your native ſubjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to ſtand. Keep poſſeſſion of a part, and the whole will ſubmit by degrees. Reſume the ſpirit of a king. Summon your ſubjects to their allegiance. Your army, though diſbanded, is not diſperſed. Give me your commiſſion. I will gather ten thouſand of your troops. I will carry your ſtandard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." The king replied, "that he believed it might be done; but that it would raiſe a civil war, and he would not do ſo much miſchief to a nation that would ſo ſoon come to their ſenſes again." Middleton urged his ſtay, though in the remoteſt part of the kingdom. "Your majeſty (ſaid he) may throw things into confuſion by your departure; but it will be but the anarchy of a month: a new government will ſoon be ſettled, and you and your family will be ruined." Theſe ſpirited remonſtrances had no effect upon James. He reſolved to quit the kingdom; and, having communicated his deſign to a few of his friends, he paſſed at midnight through the back-door of the houſe where he lodged, and with his ſon the Duke of Berwick, and Biddulph one of his ſervants, went in a boat to a ſmack which lay waiting for him without the fort of Sheerneſs. By reaſon of a hard gale they were forced to bear up toward Leigh, and to anchor on the Eſſex ſide, under the lee of the land. When the gale ſlackened, they reached the Buoy of the Narrows without tacking; but, not being able to weather the Goodwin, they were forced to ſail through the Downs. Seven ſhips lay there at anchor; but the ſmack paſſed unqueſtioned along. Unable to fetch Calais,

Calais, ſhe bore away for Boulogne, and anchored before Ambleteuſe. The king landed at three o'clock in the morning of Tueſday, December 25th; and, taking poſt, ſoon joined his queen at St. Germain's.

James having thus abandoned his dominions, the Prince of Orange remained maſter of them of courſe. By the advice of the houſe of lords, the only member of the legiſlature remaining, he was deſired to ſummon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon ſo imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had ſat in the houſe of commons during any parliament of Charles II. and to theſe were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London; and the prince, being thus ſupported by an aſſembly deriving its authority from himſelf, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England to call a new parliament.

The houſe being met, which was moſtly compoſed of the Whig party, thanks were given to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance he had brought them: after which they proceeded to ſettle the kingdom. A vote ſoon paſſed both houſes, that King James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and his people, and having by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant.

The king being thus depoſed, it was eaſy for William to get himſelf appointed as his ſucceſſor. Propoſals were made for electing a regent. Others were for inveſting the Princeſs of Orange with regal power, and declaring the young prince ſuppoſititious. To theſe propoſals, however, William oppoſed the following deciſive argument, viz. that "he had been called over to defend the liberties of the Britiſh nation, and that he had happily effected his purpoſe; that he had

heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for the eſtabliſhing of the government; that, if they choſe a regent, he thought it incumbent upon him to inform them that he would not be that regent; that he would not accept of the crown under the princeſs his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that therefore, if either of theſe ſchemes was adopted, he could give them no aſſiſtance in the ſettlement of the nation; but would return home to his own country, ſatisfied with his aims to ſecure the freedom of theirs." Upon this, after a long debate in both houſes, a new ſovereign was preferred to a regent by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly as King and Queen of England; while the adminiſtration of government ſhould be placed in the hands of the prince only. The Marquis of Halifax, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer; and that very day, February 13, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

Thus ended the reign of the Stuarts, at leaſt in the male line; and, though James will afterwards appear upon the ſcene as the diſturber of William's peace, yet we ſhall here conſider him as politically dead, and ſhall accordingly ſum up his character in a few words: James II. was a prince in whom ſome good qualities were rendered ineffectual by miſtaken notions of the prerogative, exceſſive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible ſeverity of temper. He was brave, ſteady, reſolute, diligent, upright, and ſincere, except when warped by religious conſiderations; yet, even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and, though he approved himſelf an obedient and dutiful ſubject, he certainly became one of the moſt intolerable ſovereigns that ever reigned over a free people.

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The revenue of James II. had been raiſed by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and his income, as Duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year. The national debt, at the revolution, amounted to one million fifty-four thouſand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds.

During the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, the navy was ſuffered to fall decay; but James, ſoon after his acceſſion, reſtored it to its former power and glory, and, before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The adminiſtration of the admiralty under Pepys is ſtill regarded as a model for order and economy. The commerce and riches of England had never during any period increaſed ſo faſt as from the reſtoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by diſturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this iſland; and, after Charles had made a ſeparate peace with the ſtates, his ſubjects enjoyed unmoleſted the trade of Europe. The only diſturbance which they met with was from a few French privateers, who infeſted the channel; and Charles did not interpoſe in behalf of his ſubjects with ſufficient ſpirit and vigour. The recovery or conqueſt of New York and the Jerſeys was a conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies; and together with the ſettlements of Pennſylvania and Carolina extended the Engliſh empire in America. The perſecution of the diſſenters contributed to augment and people theſe colonies. But King James, ſoon after he came to the crown, revoked the charters which had been granted to the American ſettlements, and by which their liberties were ſecured; and ſent over governors inveſted with abſolute powers. The arbitrary principles of that monarch, ſays Mr. Hume, "appear in every part of his adminiſtration."

Dr. Davenant affirms, that the ſhipping of England more than doubled during the twenty-eight years that

paſſed between the reſtoration and the revolution. The increaſe of coinage during the two laſt reigns was ten millions two hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670, and the Earl of Sandwich was made preſident. Charles revived and ſupported the charter of the Eaſt-India company, but how far the nation was benefited by this meaſure, or whether it was benefited at all, is a matter concerning which political reaſoners are not agreed.

Sir Joſhua Child aſſerts, that in 1688 there were more men worth ten thouſand pounds on the 'Change than in the year 1650 were worth one thouſand pounds; that five hundred pounds for a daughter's portion was in the earlier period deemed a larger portion than two thouſand pounds in the latter one. That gentlewomen in the more remote time thought themſelves well clothed in a ſerge gown, which a chamber-maid in 1688 would not have appeared in; he adds, that, beſides the great increaſe of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and houſehold furniture, coaches were in that time augmented an hundred fold.

Until the time of the revolution, the liberty of the preſs was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and that during a very ſhort period. The ſtar-chamber, while that court ſubſiſted, put effectual reſtraints upon printing. Hiſtory furniſhes abundant inſtances of the ſeverity of that court againſt thoſe who preſumed to write on political ſubjects; it fixed the number of printers and printing-preſſes, and appointed a licenſer, without whoſe approbation no book could be publiſhed; and as this tribunal decided matters by its own ſingle authority, without the intervention of a jury, it was always ready to find thoſe perſons guilty, whom the king, or his miniſters, were pleaſed to look upon as ſuch. On the ſuppreſſion of that tribunal in 1641, the long parliament, whoſe conduct and aſſumed power were little better qualified to bear a ſcrutiny, revived the regulations againſt the freedom of the preſs; and this

this authority was continued during all the periods of the republic and protectorſhip. Charles II. and after him James II. procured farther renewals of theſe reſtrictions. The latter acts having expired in 1692, were, although at an æra poſterior to the revolution, continued for two years longer, ſo that it was not till the year 1694 that, in conſequence of the parliament refuſing to continue the prohibitions any longer, the freedom of the preſs was finally eſtabliſhed. The important privilege which was thereby granted to the people was much diſreliſhed by the king and his miniſters, who ſeeing no where, in any government which then ſubſiſted, or which had exiſted in paſt ages, any example of ſuch unlimited freedom, doubted much of its ſalutary effects, and probably thought, that no publications would ever ſo much improve the general underſtanding of men as to render it ſafe to entruſt them with an indulgence ſo eaſily abuſed. Hereby the people are allowed openly to canvaſs and arraign the conduct of thoſe who are inveſted with any branch of public authority; and thereby is delivered into the hands of the people at large the exerciſe of the cenſorial power. So that every ſubject in England has not only a right to preſent petitions to the king, or the houſes of parliament, but he has a right alſo to lay his complaints and obſervations before the public by means of an open preſs. A formidable right this to thoſe that rule mankind, and which continually diſpelling the cloud of majeſty by which they are ſurrounded, brings them to a level with the reſt of the people, and ſtrikes at the very being of their authority.

The characters of the monarchs of the race of Stuart is not very high in hiſtory, but they have better ſtatues to their memories than the ſovereigns of any other houſe. That of Charles I. at Charing-croſs, is unqueſtionably the firſt equeſtrian ſtatue in the metropolis; and that of James II. behind Whitehall, though ſeldom ſeen, is indiſputably ſuperior to any we have

have had before or ſince. The air and attitude are peculiarly fine; the manner free and eaſy; the expreſſion inimitable: it diſplays the very ſoul of that ill-judging and ill-fated prince, and is therefore as valuable as if it commemorated an hero. Added to all this, the execution is in a perfect high finiſhed and eminently ſpirited ſtile.

Of the Fall of the feudal Eſtabliſhment, and the Introduction of a ſtanding Army.

WE have already deſcribed the nature and efficacy of the feudal ſyſtem, and the advantages derived from its principles, in page 249, to p. 268, of the firſt volume of this work; and we have there ſeen, that the preſervation of civil liberty, and the perfection of military diſcipline, were the grand objects of the feudal aſſociation, and directed all its views, until the introduction of the *coterelli*, and other mercenaries, corrupted the manners and diſpoſition of the army, and was of the utmoſt violence to its nature. It offended infinitely the barons and the military tenants, that they ſhould be called to mingle with perſons ſo ignoble. Yet the princes of Europe, finding the advantages of troops whom they could command to their purpoſes, and march at their will, were diſpoſed to encourage them. They perceived, that they could poſſeſs no power without mercenaries; and no mercenaries were to be had without money. Hence the paſſion for wealth, and hence the ruinous projects to acquire it; which in the end ſerved to deſtroy altogether the purpoſes of knight-ſervice. They gave a mortal ſtab to the feudal militia. The feudal aſſociation became foul with diſguſts, oppreſſions, and diſorders. Time, and the devices of art, augmented the general confuſion. The barons and tenants *in capite* by knight-ſervice, when ſummoned to take arms, diſputed the number of their fees, and the knights they ſhould furniſh. The

tenants by eſcuage made proffers of the half or the third of the payments to which they were bound. The conſtables and the marſhals of armies were ill qualified to decide concerning matters, ſo delicate in their own nature, and in which an impropriety of conduct might be a prejudice to their ſovereigns. Doubts aroſe, not only about the fees or the knights of eſtates, but about the tenure by which they were held. The clergy were forward to invent and to encourage frauds. They taught the laity to convey to them their feudal poſſeſſions, and to receive them back as property. The fees in their own enjoyment they affected to hold in frankalmoigne, or by a tenure that gave no ſervice but prayers. The ſubdiviſions of knight-fees created perplexities that were intricate in no common degree. Fines or payments were often demanded, not only for the fractions which were members of the fee, but for fractions which were not members. The conſultation of rolls and records, inquiſitions by jurors, and the examination of witneſſes or evidence, required a length of time, and a trial of patience, and were not always ſatisfactory. The ſovereign, in the mean time, was in haſte to march againſt an enemy. And he felt his weakneſs in the diminiſhed ranks of his army, in the abſtractions of his revenues, in the turbulent ſervice of the great vaſſals who obeyed his ſummons, in the coldneſs of thoſe who acted as ſubſtitutes, in the total want of diſcipline and of military knowledge in inferior orders, and in the limited time which the troops were to remain in the field. To all theſe cauſes, the riſe of commerce is to be added. Its various purſuits, and its endleſs occupations, were to actuate the middle and the loweſt claſſes of men, and to give the killing blow to a ſyſtem, of which the ruins and decline have an intereſt and importance that bring back to the memory its magnificence and grandeur. All the ſplendour and advantages of the antient chivalry could not uphold the feudal militia. The dubbed knight, or the

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knight of honour, now fell with the mere military tenant, or the knight of tenure. Chivalry began to decay as well as knight-ſervice. When they ceaſed to give a mutual aid and ſupport, they were ſoon to operate in a contrary direction, and to promote the decline of each other.

In the order of dubbed knights, there were neceſſarily a multitude of warriors, whoſe military renown had chiefly entitled them to the inveſtiture of arms, and whoſe accompliſhments were greater than their fortunes. Their knowledge in war, and the rank to which they were advanced by the ceremonial of knighthood, gave them the capacity of acting in all ſtations. Their poverty, ſplendid but inconvenient, made them attach themſelves, in a more particular manner, to princes and nobles. From theſe they received penſions, and, in the houſeholds of theſe, they enjoyed and ſuſtained honours and offices. Men of rank were alſo to vie with one another in their numbers and attachment. They became a part of the garniture, the magnificence, and the pride, of nobility.

There were thus, in the declenſion of the feudal army, a ſociety of men, who could ſupply the perſonal ſervice and attendance of the luxurious and the great. A ſubſtitution of knights, in the place of the barons and vaſſals of the crown, thence prevailed very generally. And, while knights were, in this manner, to wound deeply the military diſcipline and arrangements, they were to throw a contempt on knighthood by their numbers and venality. The change of manners, and the uſes of wealth, had tarniſhed the luſtre and the glories of the antient chivalry.

In the ſtate of its degradation, the long and hard apprenticeſhip to arms which, of old, had prepared the candidate for the ſtruggles and the cares of knighthood, was forgotten. The poſſeſſion of a portion of land was ſufficient to give a title to this dignity; it was annexed to a knight's fee. The unaccompliſhed proprietor

prietor of a few acres was now adorned with the ſword, and admitted to the ceremonies of knighthood. But he could not hold its honours. They had paſſed away for ever. The order, which had ennobled kings, and greatneſs, ſupreme power, and the loftieſt acquirements, grew to be mean and trivial.

The aſpiring and the meritorious who, of old, courted and expected knighthood, with the moſt paſſionate ardour and the fondeſt hope, now avoided it with anxiety, and received it with diſguſt. An happy exertion of prerogative added to its humiliation. Princes, to uphold their armies, iſſued frequent proclamations, which required all the military tenants of the crown to appear before them on a certain day, and to be girt with the belt of knighthood. Having ceaſed to be an object of choice, it was to be made a ſubject of compulſion. A ſingle knight's fee held of the crown, being deemed an ample enough fortune to entitle to knighthood, its poſſeſſor, if unwilling to accept this dignity, was compelled to receive it. Senility, irrecoverable weakneſs, and loſs of limbs, were the only excuſes to be admitted for his refuſal. If he had not theſe reaſons to plead, and neglected to take the honour of knighthood, his eſtate was diſtrained by the officers of the revenue. Men were to buy, as a privilege, a reſpite and an exemption from knighthood; and princes, when they could not recover their armies, were thus to fill their exchequers.

In a condition, not merely of meanneſs, but of diſgrace and calamity, the antient chivalry could no longer exiſt. It was worn out to extremity; and the military and regular eſtabliſhments to which the defects of the feudal arrangements pointed ſo ſtrongly, were to ſuperſede its uſes and advantages. It did not die, as ſo many writers have fancied, of the ridicule of Cervantes, but of old age, deſpondence, and debility.

This diſaſtrous ſtate of chivalry and of fiefs, by diſuniting the intereſts of the lord and the vaſſal, gave riſe

to many oppreſſions and grievances. Theſe produced a proneneſs to venality and corruption. All ranks of men, from the ſovereign to the ſlave, ſeemed at variance. Rapacity and inſolence characteriſed the ſuperior and the maſter; chicane and diſaffection, the vaſſal and the ſervant. A relaxation of morals, total and violent, prevailed. Chivalry loſing its renown, the purity of the knightly virtues was tarniſhed. When it fell as a military eſtabliſhment, its generous manners were not to remain in vigour. The women were to loſe their value and their pride. The propenſity to vice foſtered by a political diſorder, and the paſſion for gallantry driven to extremity by the romantic admiration which had been paid to the ſex, engendered a voluptuouſneſs and a luxury which, in the circle of human affairs, uſually diſtinguiſh and haſten the decline and the fall of nations.

Manners, too ſtately and pure for humanity, are not to flouriſh long. In the ruined ſtates of fiefs and chivalry, there prevailed not, in the one ſex, the ſcrupulous honour, the punctilious behaviour, and the diſtant adoration of beauty, which had illuſtrated the æra of their greatneſs; nor, in the other, were there to be remarked, the cold and unconquerable chaſtity, the majeſtic air, and the ceremonious dignity, which had lifted them above nature. A gallantry leſs magnificent, and more tender, took place. The faſtidiouſneſs and delicacies of former ages wore away. The women ceaſed to be idols of worſhip, and became objects of love. In an unreſerved intercourſe, their attractions were more alluring. The times, prone to corruption, were not to reſiſt their vivacity, their graces, their paſſion to pleaſe. Love ſeemed to become the ſole buſineſs of life. The ingenious and the ſentimental found a laſting intereſt and a bewitching occupation in the aſſiduities, anxieties, and the tenderneſs, of intrigue. The coarſe and intemperate, indulging their indolence and

appetite, ſought the haunts, and threw themſelves into the arms, of proſtituted beauty.

The talents which, of old, recorded the deeds of valour, and the atchievements of war, were now devoted to the fair. In every country of Europe, the poet conſecrated to them his homage and his ſongs. And, to the faſhion of gallantry, the riſe of literature is to be aſcribed. Men of genius, and men who fancied they poſſeſſed it, reſorted to the courts of princes, and to the palaces of the noble; and the praiſe, which they knew how to laviſh, got them attention and patronage. To make verſes was the road to preferment. No lady was without her poet. Nor was poetry the exerciſe only of thoſe who wiſhed to better their fortunes. While it gave riches and reſpect to the obſcure, by the connections it gained to them, it was an ornament and an honour to the great. Princes and barons, as well as knights and gentlemen, found it the ſureſt recommendation to their miſtreſſes. They ſung their charms, their diſdain, and their rigours. Even the artificial tenderneſs of the poet often grew into reality; and the fair one, who, at firſt, only liſtened to praiſe, at length yielded to paſſion. The adulation paid to beauty diſpoſed it to approve; complaints led to pity; pity to love. The enchantment of perpetual flatteries, of proſtrations reſpectful and paſſionate, of vows repeated with ardour, of ſighs ever meant to allure, corrupted a ſex, of which the ſenſibilities are ſo exquiſite. The rite of marriage, formerly ſo ſanctimonious, was only courted to be abuſed. The pride of condition, more powerful than modeſty, was, indeed, a check to the virgin; but ſhe was to wait reluctantly the moment, when her coyneſs and timidities, inſtead of rebuking the paſſions, were to be a zeſt to them. All the fopperies of fancy were exhibited, all the labyrinths of love were explored. A licentiouſneſs, which knew no reſtraint from principle, was rendered more ſeducing

cing by the decorums and decorations of a fantaſtic gallantry.

Religion, which muſt ever mix in human affairs, is oftener uſed to debaſe than to enlighten. It is too often a maſs of ſuperſtitions, which encourage the weakneſſes of mankind. This was the caſe with Chriſtianity in the darkneſs of the middle times. The votaries of beauty did not ſcruple to addreſs the Deity to ſoften its obſtinacy. In the heat of intrigue they invoked the Trinity and the ſaints for ſucceſs. Religion was employed to give a poignancy to the diſorders of proſtitution and luſt. The rich had houſes of debauch in the form of monaſteries, conſiſting of many cells or apartments, and under the government of abbeſſes. The profaneneſs of gallantry diſturbed and deformed even the meditations of the moſt pious. The devotee was to ſeek a miſtreſs in heaven. He was to look up to the virgin with the eyes of a lover, and to contemplate the beauties of her perſon, and the graces of her carriage. What is more extravagant, the felicities of futurity ſeemed a trifle unworthy of acceptance, without the contracts and the vanities of an irreverent courteſy. "I would not," ſaid a poet, "be in Paradiſe, but on the condition of making love to her whom I adore."

The vices and examples of the clergy added to the general contagion. They were emulous to exceed not only in ſuperb living, and in the luxuries of the table, but in the paſtimes and the gratifications of illicit love. It was in vain that laws were made to prohibit them from entertaining in their houſes "any virgins dedicated to God." The arts of the popes to tear them from their women would fill volumes. No eccleſiaſtic was without his concubines. The ſins of the ſaint were groſs and comfortable. In contempt of all decency, they even educated publicly the fruits of their amours. Rampant and diſſolute, they preached religion, and were a diſgrace to it; virtue, and they were

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in haſte to contemn it; another world and they were immerſed in the enjoyments of the preſent.

An univerſal corruption diffuſed itſelf. To be deep in debauch, and ſucceſsful with the ladies, were certain marks of worth. They were parts of the eminence to which the deſerving ſeemed to aſpire. To be amorous and deceitful, were not leſs meritorious than to be brave and witty. There was exhibited a ſtrange picture of fierceneſs and effeminacy, oppreſſion and politeneſs, impiety and devotion.

The age, in which ſo many armies, inflamed with zeal, were to fight for the recovery and poſſeſſion of the holy ſepulchre, was remarkable for the moſt criminal depravity. The pilgrims and cruſaders exported the vices of Europe, and imported thoſe of Aſia. Saint Louis, during his pious and memorable expedition, could not prevent the moſt open licentiouſneſs and diſorder. He found houſes of proſtitution at the doors of his tent. His character, his example, and his precautions, were reſtraints ineffectual and fruitleſs.

While the ladies of rank were to be beſieged in form, to be purſued in all the windings of affectation and caprice, and to oppoſe to their impatient lovers all the obſtacles of a delicacy pretended or real, the women of inferior condition were approached with familiarity. It even appears to have been common for huſbands to make a traffic of the chaſtity of their wives, though ſevere regulations were enacted to repreſs this practice. The offices of the laundreſs and the milliner being yet no particular profeſſions, there were in the habitations and palaces of the rich, apartments for women, who, while they performed the ſervices peculiar to theſe, were alſo debauched to impunity, and ſubſervient to luſt. Juriſdiction, being yet ambulatory, and kings making frequent progreſſes through their dominions, it was uſual for proſtitutes to follow the court; and officers were appointed to keep them in ſubjection and order.

order. To be *marſhal of the king's whores* in particular places and diſtricts, was an honour and a dignity.

To this degeneracy and profaneneſs, I am inclined to trace the law, which, in the declining condition of fiefs, made it a forfeiture of the eſtate, for the vaſſal to debauch the ſiſter, the daughter, or the wife, of his ſuperior.

In the greater towns, there were women who lived openly by proſtitution, exerciſing it as a profeſſion. There were even whole ſtreets which were inhabited by them. In Paris and in London, the number of public brothels was incredible. In the latter, in the days of Richard II. a lord mayor imported ſtrumpets from Flanders, and kept ſtew-houſes, where the dainty and the ſqueamiſh were to trade in this foreign merchandize. Bordelloes or ſtews were permitted and ſanctioned by the authority of government in every country of Europe. To twelve of theſe Henry VII. gave his licenſe; and ſigns painted on their walls diſtinguiſhed them, and invited the paſſenger. So general was the licentiouſneſs which now ſpread itſelf, that the proprietors of houſes found it neceſſary to let them out under the expreſs condition, that the leſſee ſhould keep and harbour no common women. Henry VIII. who approved not love in any form but that of matrimony, ſuppreſſed many ſtew-houſes in Southwark, and ordained, that proſtitutes ſhould not receive the rites of the church while they lived, nor have a Chriſtian burial when they were dead.

Such were the manners which were produced by the oppreſſions and diſorders of the times; and the mercenaries, which were made neceſſary by the failure of fiefs and chivalry, led to misfortunes ſtill greater. They were ſcarcely known, when the princes of Europe invented the art of extorting the wealth of their ſubjects, and of employing it to oppreſs them. While the lands dealt out by the crown created an effectual army, ſoldiers gave their ſervice for their poſſeſſions.

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But, when the inconveniencies and the defects of this system had produced mercenaries, the prince had no possessions to bestow. His domains had gone away from him in prodigalities and donations. It was yet incumbent on him to maintain his troops. Money was absolutely indispensable to him, and he was to find out measures to procure it. These measures are interesting in themselves, and still more so in their consequences. They gave rise to taxations in Europe. The vassals of the crown by knight-service were obliged to personal attendance in wars; but, considering it as a burden, were disposed to compound for it. This was also the case with the inferior tenants. They were no less inclined to contribute their proportions to their lords, than these were to satisfy their prince. To the prince, the money of his vassals was of more advantage than their service; but agreements with each were fatiguing and endless; and his mercenaries were clamorous and impatient. An expedient presented itself, which, to all parties, gave the promise of ease and satisfaction. The prince, instead of the service that was due, and, instead of contracting with every tenant who held from him, assessed a moderate sum on every knight's fee throughout the kingdom. It was but just that his tenants should give a fine for their attendance; and what they furnished was to go to his mercenaries. The prerogative thus begun, was pregnant with misfortunes to subjects, and with advantages to princes, which were foreseen neither by the former nor the latter. What, at first, was a matter of expediency, and an expression of the confidence of the people, and of the discretion of the sovereign, grew into a most formidable taxation. It was exerted with no moderation or decency. In the delirium of their greatness, the princes of Europe began to fancy, that, in extracting money from their subjects, they ought to know no rule but their ambition, their wants, and their caprice.

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In conformity with the aſſeſſment on the eſtates ſubject to knight-ſervice, a tax was demanded from the poſſeſſors of land holden in frankalmoigne and in ſoccage. And it has already been obſerved, that the tenants by eſcuage paid a ſtipulated fine for their fees. All the territory of the kingdom was thus to contribute to the neceſſities of princes, and the greateſt proportion of it was to be actually expoſed to their ravages.

Their rapacity was not yet however, ſatisfied. The cravings of ambition, and the prodigalities of mercenaries, demanded ſomething more. During the fortunate times of the feudal aſſociation, it had been common for the inhabitants of the cities and towns within the demeſnes of the ſovereign, and within thoſe of the nobility, to expreſs, reſpectively, by preſents, their ſubmiſſion, ſatisfaction, and gratitude. In more unhappy times, theſe gifts, theſe fruits of generoſity, were demanded as a right. Theſe preſents, the expreſſions of happineſs, grew into tallages and exactions, and began to denote miſery and wretchedneſs. The prince, with an unbluſhing audacity, levied grants at his will from his cities and towns; and his example was followed by the nobles in the cities and towns within their territories. Hence the moſt deſtructive and the moſt calamitous of all the oppreſſions of the middle times.

Meaſures, ſo hoſtile to the free ſpirit of the government, infringements of property ſo audacious, every where excited and inflamed the paſſions of the people. The princes of Europe began to contend for power, and their ſubjects for liberty. Struggles, the moſt critical and the moſt ſerious, were ſuſtained; and the progreſs of theſe, and the reſpective ſucceſs of the parties in the different kingdoms of Europe altered its governments to the forms they in general maintain at this hour.

In France, and in other countries, the command of the mercenaries, and the power of taxation, finally prevailed.

prevailed. In England, the frantic weakneſſes of King John, and the union of the nobles and the people, renovated the Gothic liberty, and ſet limits to princes. While, in ſtates leſs fortunate, the kingly authority was to grow into deſpotiſm, and to debaſe the genius of men, while taxes, and tallages, and exactions, were to be demanded in wantonneſs and caprice, and a cruel tyranny to diffuſe oppreſſion and grievance, the *magna charta* ordained, that no prince of England ſhould preſume to levy any tax, tallage, or exaction, without the conſent of the parliament; and that, while the land of the kingdom was to be free from his rapaciouſneſs, he ſhould not dare to harraſs its cities or towns, but that they ſhould return to the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

Theſe diſorders of the feudal militia produced mercenaries, and the uſe of mercenaries gave birth to taxations. Taxations were begun to be levied in all the ſtates of Europe, at the will of the prince. This occaſioned contentions between ſovereigns and their ſubjects. The victory of the kingly authority over the liberty of the people continued in many princes the power of taxation; and this power, and the command of mercenaries, are the completion of deſpotiſm. In England, the prerogative of taxation which the prince had aſſumed was wreſted from him by the great charter of liberties: he was to command his mercenaries; but he was to depend for their ſupport and their pay on the generoſity of his people.

The coterelli, or banditti, who had thus infuſed itſelf into the feudal army, and offered their ſwords to the higheſt bidder, introduced the idea that war might be conſidered as a trade. The feudal proprietor fought for his land and his nation, and the prince had no title to demand his ſervice in any diſpute of his own. He drew his ſword for the ſafety of the ſtate, or for its honour; but he was not bound to ſupport the quarrels of his ſovereign. When the feudal prince contended

with a great ſubject, the feudal vaſſals of the kingdom did not move indiſcriminately to his call. His defenders, in this ſituation, were his particular vaſſals, or the tenants of his demeſne. In like manner, if he declared war againſt a foreign ſtate, without the conſent of the great council of the nation, the majority of the feudal vaſſals might refuſe to obey his mandate. It was only in the wars and in the quarrels approved by the nation, that they attended to his ſummons. But, when arms became a profeſſion, the ſoldier ſtipulated his ſervice for his pay. He conſulted not for what end he was to fight. An implicit obedience was required from him; and his ſword, though it might be employed againſt a natural and active enemy, might alſo be turned againſt his native country, and give a ſtab to its repoſe and proſperity.

When, from the refuſe of the vagabonds of Europe, the taking money for ſervice was become familiar, the making war a traffic prevailed in every ſtate. The idle and the profligate found a way of life, which flattered their indolence and rapacity. The uſual method of collecting an army, was now by contracts with nobles, who had authority over the looſe and diſorderly inhabitants of their eſtates; with captains, whoſe addreſs or valour could allure adventurers to their ſtandards; and with individuals, whoſe poverty or choice made them offer themſelves to the conſtables and the marſhals of princes. Theſe troops, though more obedient than the feudal militia, were not much ſuperior to them in diſcipline. For, at the end of every war, the prince, on whom they depended for pay, was in haſte to diſband them.

But, while this grew to be the uſual method of raiſing an army, it was a law in the different nations of Europe, that all the ſubjects of a kingdom were bound to take arms in caſes of neceſſity. Statutes, accordingly, or ordinances, aſcertained the armour with which every perſon, in proportion to his riches and rank, was

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to provide himſelf, and which he was to keep conſtantly in his poſſeſſion. And thus, when dangers threatened, and ſudden invaſions took place, commiſſions of array were iſſued by princes, and ſupplies to the army called out from the provinces and counties, the villages and cities. The ſoldiers, levied in this manner, received alſo the pay of the prince. An example of an array, ſo early as the reign of Edward I. is remarked by Mr. Madox, and it proceeded on writs from that prince to all the ſheriffs of England. It has been thought, that King John's reign afforded the firſt inſtance of an array. But it is highly probable, that arrays were prior to his age. Mr. Hume had met with no commiſſion of array till the reign of Henry V. and this circumſtance could not fail of leading him into miſtakes. Arrays for ſailors were practiſed after the ſame method as for ſoldiers. The cuſtom is ſtill retained in the preſſing of ſeamen. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that this illegal power is yet ſuffered to remain with the crown. If exerted as to ſoldiers, it would ſeem the higheſt tyranny. In apology for it, authors have ſaid, that it is difficult to diſcover an expedient to anſwer its purpoſes, without greater danger to liberty.

Theſe ſchemes for a military power were ſtill imperfect. The oppreſſion of arrays was diſguſting and cruel in the higheſt degree; and the troops they furniſhed were ill diſpoſed to exert themſelves, and without diſcipline. Mercenaries were the ſtrength of armies; but, to collect ſuch multitudes of them as were requiſite for great and vigorous efforts, required an inexhauſtible revenue. They had, beſides, no principle of attachment or of honour. An object of terror to the people, and of ſuſpicion to the prince, they were employed and deteſted; and, when the termination of a war ſet them looſe, the condition of Europe was deformed, and the greateſt diſorders were perpetrated. They had no certain homes, and no regular plan of ſubſiſtence. They were at the command of the tur-

bulent and factious; they associated into bands and companies, and were often so formidable as to maintain themselves, for a time, in opposition to civil authority. Robberies, murders, the ravishment of women, and other atrocious crimes, were frequent. It was chiefly the enormous dissoluteness and irregularity of manners introduced by the mercenaries, which deformed England so much in the reign of Edward I. that the ordinary judges were thought unable to execute the laws. This, it would seem, made Edward invent a new tribunal of justice, which had power to traverse the kingdom, and to inflict discretionary punishments on offenders. Yet a court so inquisitorial was a daring insult to a free nation, and infinitely a greater calamity than all the disorders which prevailed. That country is miserable where the discretion of a judge is the law.

Confusions often lead to improvement, by demanding and pointing out a remedy. It was perceived, that the soldiery ought to be maintained or kept up, not only in times of war, but of peace. They would thus be preserved from marauding, and plunder, and riot; and, improving in discipline, they would act with greater firmness and efficacy.

The creation of a standing force, of which the idea was thus unfolded, was also facilitated by the rivalship which had prevailed between France and England. From the time that William the Conqueror had mounted the throne of England, the two kingdoms entertained a jealousy of one another. The dominions which the English possessed on the continent, being a source of consideration to them there, became the foundation of disquiets and animosities, which were ready to break out on occasions the most trifling. Frequent wars, putting to trial the strength and resources of the rival states, served to improve them in arts and in arms. Even the victories of Edward III. and Henry V. while they brought so much strength

and glory to England, were leſſons of inſtruction to the other ſtates of Europe, by diſcovering the danger which muſt reſult to all of them from the encroachments of a power ſo formidable and ſo ambitious. Thus, the decay of the feudal ſyſtem, the diſorders of the mercenaries, and the political condition of France with regard to England, all conſpired to illuſtrate the neceſſity of a ſtanding force.

Having deliberated maturely on the ſtep he was to take, Charles VII. in the year 1445, ſelecting out of his forces a body of cavalry, to the number of nine thouſand, formed them into fifteen regular and ſtanding companies, under officers of experience. Three years after, encouraged by his ſucceſs, he eſtabliſhed a ſtanding infantry of Frank archers, to the number of ſixteen thouſand. The French nobility, who had been long tired and diſguſted with the fatigues and the returns of military ſervice, to which their tenures ſubjected them, and the people who hoped, under diſciplined troops, to be free from the inſults and oppreſſions which they had known under the mercenaries, oppoſed not theſe eſtabliſhments. They were ſtruck with the advantages to be derived from them, but diſcerned not their dangerous and fatal tendency. No conſtitutional limitations were made; no bulwarks were raiſed up for the ſecurity of the national independence and liberties. Succeeding princes were to add to, and improve on, the arbitrary regulations of Charles; and, from this period, the monarchs of France were in the full capacity of levying taxes at their pleaſure, and of ſurveying, in mockery, the rights and pretenſions of their ſubjects.

But, while France and other ſtates of Europe, in conſequence of theſe general reaſons, and from the idea of their own intereſt, and the upholding a balance of power, were to be induced to admit of ſtanding armies, and were thence to loſe their liberties, the ſame cauſes did not operate the ſame effects in England. The introduction

troduction of a ſtanding army was, indeed, to be made effectual here; but at a more diſtant period, and on principles the moſt conſiſtent with liberty. The advantages to accrue from it did not eſcape obſervation; but its dangers were ſtill ſeen in the ſtrongeſt light; and its eſtabliſhment was oppoſed, till the very moment when its neceſſity was abſolute and uncontroulable.

The feudal militia, and troops furniſhed by contract with nobles and captains, and by the enliſting of volunteers, ſtill continued to conſtitute the uſual military power of England. And as yet, alſo, commiſſions of array continued to be iſſued by princes to procure forces on extraordinary occaſions. And the termination of every war was regularly followed with the diſbandment of the army.

Of theſe inſtitutions, the inconveniencies, as I have ſaid, were infinite and enormous. They were preferable, however, to a ſtanding army, with deſpotiſm. For regulations and policy might, in ſome degree, ſupply and alleviate their defects and abuſes. Theſe diſorders, indeed, of the feudal militia, had riſen to a height, which, conſidering the growing refinement of the nation, admitted not of any remedy. They were to endure, of conſequence, till the extinction of tenures. But wholeſome rules and enactments might depreſs or diminiſh the confuſions and the oppreſſions which were the natural reſults of the uſe and diſmiſſion of mercenaries; and theſe were not wanting. It was likewiſe poſſible to give a check to the violence of princes in the iſſuing of commiſſions of array; and the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and expreſs laws, made it fully underſtood, that they ought to be undertaken and executed with the greateſt reſpect for the freedom of the ſubject, and in caſes only of urgent danger and apparent neceſſity.

The reduction of the power of taxation aſſumed by princes, and the declaration of *magna charta*, that the people were to grant the ſupplies which they thought neceſſary

neceſſary to government, had foſtered the paſſion for independence. The conſtant appeals of the people to charters declaratory of their ancient freedom and privileges, and correctory of abuſes, that time and the maxims of tyranny had produced, gave them an evident ſuperiority which they might exert in all political contentions. It was eaſy to diſcover when the ſovereign was diſpoſed to encroach; and the power the commons could oppoſe to him was deciſive: to refuſe him money, was to diſarm him. Of himſelf, he could maintain no formidable army; and the people were not to laviſh to him their wealth, that he might oppreſs them.

The ſchools of law, which were opened by learned men immediately after the ſettlement of the charters of liberty, diffuſed widely the fundamental and free principles of the conſtitution: the diſcuſſion of political topics employed even the loweſt ranks of the citizens, and engendered a turbulence, which, with all its ills, muſt be allowed to be reſpectable.

The awe over parliamentary debate, which Richard II. effected by the body of four thouſand archers, which he attempted to keep up, and the inſolence and diſorders of this band, awakened, to an uncommon degree, the public jealouſy, and evinced, with deciſion, the dangers of a ſtanding force. The miſerable ſtate of France, under the military deſpotiſm which Charles VII. had begun, and which Louis XI. had accompliſhed, diſplayed, in all its terrors, that mode of adminiſtration which allows to the prince the command of the taxes and the army.

The Engliſh, aſtoniſhed at the tyranny and pride of kings in other nations, repreſſed them in their own. The ſpirit of oppoſition to the crown, natural to the government, and brought into exertion by the oppreſſive views and the encroaching domination of princes, unfolded all their powers to the commons. During a long ſeries of years, no ſtanding army was permitted.

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It was held in the utmoſt deteſtation; and its exiſtence was even deemed incompatible with the liberty of the ſubject.

In the war between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, armies were frequently raiſed; but no ſtanding eſtabliſhment was thought of. The meaſure was both impolitic and violent, while the leaders of different factions were courting popularity. In the moment of peace, the ſoldier was loſt in the citizen; and the army that conducted its commander to the throne, did not remain with him an inſtrument of his tyranny. It left him to the enjoyment of the legal rights of ſovereignty, and was not to ſubvert the government. The ſtruggle was not for a tyrant, but a king. The conſtitution was reſpected during ſcenes of violence and hoſtility, and the people felt a riſing importance amidſt ſlaughter and blood.

Henry VII. indeed, who united in his perſon the rights of the rival families, had been permitted to conſtitute the yeomen of the guard. But theſe were only for the protection of the perſon of the ſovereign, and were not to increaſe to an army.. They were to be a ſtate or ornament to the crown, not a terror to the ſubject. The obſtinacy of Charles I. and the civil wars to which it gave riſe, ſerved to confirm the ancient conſtitution, and to demonſtrate, that neither the military power, nor the power of taxation, were prerogatives of the prince. Years and diſorders tended thus to render more ſolid the fabric of our government.

Yet, after the reſtoration of Charles II. had taken place, an event of great importance in our hiſtory, called, in a particular manner, for the ſtanding force, from which the nation was ſo averſe. The ſyſtem of tenures, ſo decayed and ſo unſuitable to refining times, haſtened to extinction. Early in this reign, a ſtatute of infinite utility gave a mortal blow to military tenures. The ſyſtem of fiefs, which we have ſeen ſo beneficial in one period, and ſo deſtructive in another,

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was overturned. The feudal ſtrength, or militia of England, after languiſhing for ages in diſeaſe and weakneſs, received the wound of which it periſhed. In its place a ſtanding army was expedient, and could alone correſpond with the majeſty of the people and the dignity of the crown.

The invention of cannon and fire-arms had changed the art of war. Movements, evolutions, and exerciſes, were not to be acquired to perfection by the feudal militia, or even by mercenaries, who were hired for a ſeaſon, and diſmiſſed at the cloſe of a campaign. Other nations were poſſeſſed of ſtanding armies, and of theſe the force was not to be oppoſed by troops leſs regular and leſs diſciplined. Self-preſervation, and the neceſſity of attending to the balance of power in Europe, pointed irreſiſtibly to this eſtabliſhment. Its dangers, notwithſtanding, were great, and might be fatal to the prince who ſhould attempt it.

Invited, or rather compelled, by conſiderations the moſt powerful, Charles made the experiment. He ventured to maintain, by his private authority, a ſtanding force of five thouſand ſoldiery, for guards and garriſons. The jealous ſpirit of the people was alarmed. A meaſure ſo unconſtitutional, excited fears and apprehenſions, which behoved to be conſulted. Yet James II. did not ſcruple to augment the ſtanding force to thirty thouſand men, whom he ſupported from his own civil liſt. The nation was on the brink of a precipice. The revolution approached. The bill of rights declared, that the ſovereign was not to raiſe or uphold a ſtanding force in times of peace, without the conſent of the parliament. And the matured experience of ſucceeding times employed itſelf to deviſe the policy which was to make our army regular and formidable, with the leaſt poſſible inconvenience to liberty.

A ſtanding body of troops, as abſolutely neceſſary, was therefore kept up under the command of the

crown, but by the authority of the legiſlature. The power of an act of parliament gave every year its continuance to the army; and any branch of the legiſlature hath annually the power to put a period to its exiſtence, by objecting to it. Thus the dangers of a ſtanding force are prevented: its advantages are ſecured; and the ſoldiery, not living in camps, but intermingled with the people, are conſidered as free citizens, and taught, while they reſpect the crown, to feel for the intereſts and proſperity of the nation. With theſe ſlow degrees, and with theſe ſymptoms of jealouſy, did a ſtanding army firſt become a part of our conſtitution. Two regiments of guards, taken into pay by Charles II. in 1661, one of horſe, and one of foot, conſtituted the two firſt corps of our preſent army; and, as the mode and manner of their embodying on the king's account is curious and intereſting, I ſhall conclude this digreſſive chapter with the particulars of it, copied from the Weſtminſter Political Mercury, of February 20, 1661.---"On Thurſday, 14th of this inſtant, February, they (the commiſſioners) diſbanded the regiment of foot and life-guard of horſe, on Tower Hill (being the only remaining land forces of the army) with more than ordinary ſolemnity. Sir William Doyley, William Prynne, Eſq. Colonel Edward King, and Colonel John Birch, (four of the commiſſioners for Weſtminſter,) went in a coach to Tower Hill, about ten of the clock, on Thurſday, 14th of this inſtant (being Valentine's Day), when, the ſaid regiment of foot and life-guard appearing with their arms before them, they ordered five companies of the foot to draw up in a ring about Mr. Prynne, and the other five about Colonel Birch, who made two ſhort ſpeeches to them to this effect: 'That God had highly honoured them in the eies and hearts of the king and kingdome, yea, and made them renowned throughout the world, and to all poſterity, in ſtirring them up to be eminently inſtrumental in the happy reſtau-

reſtauration of his majeſty to his royal throne, the parliament to their privileges, and our whole three kingdoms to their ancient laws, liberties and government, without any battle or bloodſhed: for which ſignal ſervices his majeſty and the whole kingdome returned them not only their verbal, but real, thanks; the king having given them one week's pay, by way of gratuity, over and above their wages, and the parliament and kingdome provided monies for their juſt arrears ſtated on their reſpective accounts, which upon their diſbanding ſhould be forthwith paid, for their uſe, into their officers' hands. That this regiment, as it was the firſt of the army who promoted his majeſty's glorious reſtitution to his crown, ſo it hath this ſignal badge of honour now put upon them, to be his laſt regiment diſbanded; and, although they were ordered and declared to be diſbanded in relation to the kingdome's pay, yet they were immediately to be advanced to his majeſty's ſervice, as an extraordinary guard to his royal perſon, whom God long preſerve in health and happineſs.' Which ſpeeches being ended, they all cried out, with reiterated ſhouts and acclamations, God ſave King Charles the Second! waving and throwing up their hats, diſplaying their enſigns, beating their drums, and diſcharging their muſkets, over and over, till commanded to draw off to their reſpective colours, when they were called over and diſbanded by Mr. Prynne, Colonel King, and Colonel Birch; Mr. Prynne cauſing all thoſe four companies he diſbanded to lay down their arms at his feet, in teſtimony of their diſbanding, and then to take them up again, as entertained by his majeſty in ſervice. In the mean time Sir William Doyley made a ſpeech to the life guard of horſe, whom he called over and diſbanded; after which, between twelve and one, the regiment marched back with their arms, in a regimental order, to their quarters, by the lord mayor's houſe, who, having notice thereof, came forth to the door, on whom the

ſoldiers beſtowed ſeveral vollies of ſhot, as they paſſed by him, moſt of the officers dined with him, deſiring him further to provide monies for payment of their arrears out of the city's three months preſent aſſeſſment, deſigned to them by the commiſſioners order. Their ſtated arrears amounting to 13,038l. 16s. 3d. beſides 3800l. advanced to them to defray their quarters, in all 16,338l. 16s. 3d. whereas if the city's and other monies had come in as was expected, when their arrears were firſt ſtated, 10,200l. would have paid them all off. The life-guards arrears, for want of monies to pay them off when firſt ſtated, encreaſed from 5000l. to 8121l. 16s. 11d.----7000l. whereof they ſent a party to receive at Northampton, on Thurſday laſt; the reſidue was paid them by the treaſurers at war, in London: moſt of them are ſince entertained by his majeſty for his horſe guards."

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM THE THIRD.

WILLIAM began his reign with iſſuing a proclamation for continuing in office all Proteſtants that had been in place on the firſt of December 1688. On the 17th of February, 1689, he formed his privy council, but chiefly of ſuch perſons as had been moſt active in raiſing him to the throne. To gratify as many of his friends as poſſible, the ſeveral boards, and even the chancery, were put into commiſſion. The benches of the exchequer and common law were filled with perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the meaſures of the late king. The Earl of Nottingham who had violently oppoſed the elevation of William, and the Earl of Shrewſbury who had adhered to his views, were made ſecretaries of ſtate. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the firſt, as lord privy-ſeal, the ſecond as preſident of the council.

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His Dutch friends in the mean time were not forgotten by the king: Bentinck, his favourite, was made a privy counſellor, groom of the ſtole, and privy purſe; Auverquerque was appointed maſter of the horſe; Zuylſtein received the office of maſter of the robes; Schomberg was placed at the head of the ordnance.

Though theſe inſtances of gratitude were no doubt neceſſary to William, the generality of the nation were diſpleaſed. The tories were offended at being excluded from his favour, eſpecially as they had departed from their principles in order to ſerve him. The nation in general were much prejudiced againſt foreigners, and univerſal diſcontent enſued upon ſeeing them preferred. The king, who had been bred a Calviniſt, was alſo very ſtrongly inclined to favour that ſect; and his prejudices in favour of Calviniſm were almoſt equal to thoſe of James in favour of popery. Finding, therefore, the clergy of the church of England little inclined to take the oaths to the new government, he began openly to indulge his own prejudices in favour of diſſenters. Having come to the houſe of lords to paſs ſome bills, on the 16th of March, he made a ſpeech, urging the neceſſity of admitting all Proteſtants indiſcriminately into the public ſervice. He told his parliament, that he had ſomething to communicate, which would conduce as much to their ſettlement as to the diſappointment of their enemies. He informed them, that he was employed in filling up the vacancies in offices of truſt; and he hoped that they were ſenſible of the neceſſity of a law to ſettle the oaths to be taken by ſuch perſons as ſhould be admitted into place. As he doubted not, he ſaid, that they would ſufficiently provide againſt Papiſts, ſo he hoped that they would leave room for the admiſſion of all Proteſtants that were able and willing to ſerve. This propoſition was rejected with vehemence. The adherents of the church complained that the ruin which they feared from the Papiſts in the preceding reign was now to be dreaded from the Proteſ-

tant diſſenters. They affirmed, that, if the eſtabliſhed religion was to be deſtroyed, it mattered little by whoſe hands it muſt fall. A bill brought in by the miniſtry for abrogating the former oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance was rejected. An attempt to diſpenſe with the ſacramental teſt was made without ſucceſs in another form. The court party propoſed that any man ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for an office by producing a certificate of his having received the ſacrament in any Proteſtant congregation. But this motion was alſo rejected in the houſe of lords by a great majority. William repeated his attempts of a comprehenſion; but he was ultimately unſucceſsful, and in the coronation-oath the church-party inſerted a clauſe highly favourable to themſelves, viz. that the king ſhould maintain the Proteſtant religion "as eſtabliſhed by law." To this clauſe William is ſaid to have diſcovered an apparent unwillingneſs to ſwear.

For theſe and other reaſons the government of William was for ſome time but in a very tottering condition. The king, either through want of health or inclination, interfered but little in the affairs of the nation. Ireland was ſtrangely neglected. Halifax and Danby, who had in a manner raiſed the king to the throne, caballed with his enemies. They perceived that the people, with the ſame levity that induced them to deſert their former ſovereign, were beginning to be diſcontented with their new prince. Every thing ſeemed to tend to a change. Halifax himſelf declared, that, were James to conform with the Proteſtants, he could not be kept four months from re-aſcending his throne. Danby averred, that, were the late king to give ſatisfaction for the ſecurity of religion, it would be difficult to oppoſe his reſtoration. From theſe apparent diſcontents of the nation, the friends and emiſſaries of James aſſumed more boldneſs; they tampered with the ſervants of the crown, and inflamed the army: the former they alarmed with the proſpect of a ſudden change;

change; the latter they roused into indignation by the manifest preference given by William to his countrymen the Dutch.

Though the kingdom of Scotland did not at first recognize the authority of William, yet the party of James never attained sufficient strength to be of any effectual service to him in that kingdom. Thirty Scots peers, and near eighty gentlemen, then in London, had waited in the beginning of January on the Prince of Orange. Without any authority from the regency still subsisting in Edinburgh, they formed themselves into a kind of convention. The Prince of Orange in a formal manner asked their advice. He withdrew, and they adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton, being chosen president, explained the distracted state of Scotland. He represented, that disorders, anarchy, and confusion, prevailed; and he urged the necessity of placing the power somewhere till a convention of states should be called to form a lasting and solid settlement. When the heads of their address to the Prince of Orange were settled, and ordered to be ingrossed, the Earl of Arran unexpectedly arose, and proposed to invite back King James. The meeting, however, adhered to the Prince of Orange; and waited on him in a body, requesting him to take the administration into his hands. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him; and a convention was ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, and it was provided that no exception or limitation whatever should be made, except that the members should be Protestants.

A secession, however, was made from this convention, in favour of James. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viscount Dundee, were authorised by an instrument signed by the late king, at that time in Ireland, to call a convention of the states at Stirling. But this measure was disappointed, first by the wavering disposition of the Marquis of Athol,

Athol, and afterwards by the delay and folly of the party. At laſt, the Viſcount Dundee, being alarmed by an information of a deſign formed by the covenanters to aſſaſſinate him, left Edinburgh at the head of fifty horſe. When he paſſed under the walls of the caſtle, the Duke of Gordon, who held that place, and favoured the cauſe of James, called him to a conference. He ſcrambled up the precipice, and informed the duke of his deſigns in favour of the late king. He conjured him to hold out the caſtle, under a certainty of being relieved. The novelty of the ſight collected multitudes of ſpectators. The convention were alarmed: the preſident ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid upon the table. The drums were beat to alarm in the town. A parcel of ill-armed retainers were gathered together in the ſtreet by the Earl of Leven. Dundee in the mean time rode off with his party. But, when they found themſelves ſecure, the Duke of Hamilton adjourned the convention, which relieved the adherents of James from dreadful apprehenſions for their own ſafety. Fifty members retired from Edinburgh; and that circumſtance procured an unanimity in all the ſucceeding reſolutions of the convention. Soon after this, it was determined in a committee that James had *forefaulted* his right to the crown, by which was meant that he had perpetually excluded himſelf and his whole race from the crown, which was thereby become vacant. This reſolution was approved by the convention, and another was drawn up for raiſing William and Mary to the vacant throne; in conſequence of which they were proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 11th of April 1689. An accidental circumſtance, which happened on William's taking the coronation oath, rendered him popular among the Scotch. The adminiſtration of the coronation oath of Scotland was performed with much ſolemnity: the king, ſtretching out his right hand while he ſwore, repeated each word deliberately after the perſon who read the form of the oath.

oath. A clauſe was contained in it, by which the king engaged to "root out heretics." At theſe words William ſtopped the Earl of Argyle, who was adminiſtering the oath, and declared he would on no account become a perſecutor. The commiſſioners replied, that ſuch was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," ſaid the king, "I take it in that ſenſe only." Such ſcrupulous attention to the engagements he entered into, was becoming a king, and highly pleaſing to the people.

The caſtle of Edinburgh was ſtill kept, in the name of James, by the Duke of Gordon; but, deſpairing of any relief, and preſſed by a ſiege, he ſurrendered it on the 13th of June upon honourable terms. The adherents of James, terrified with this unexpected misfortune, now turned their eyes to the Viſcount Dundee. That nobleman having been in vain urged by the convention to return, they had declared him a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel. General Mackay had been ſent to Scotland by William with four regiments of foot, and one of dragoons; and Dundee, being appriſed of his deſign to ſurpriſe him, retired to the Grampian mountains with a few horſe. He marched from thence to Gordon caſtle, where he was joined by the Earl of Dunfermline with fifty gentlemen. He then paſſed through the county of Murray to Inverneſs. Macdonald of Keppoch lay with ſeven hundred men before that town; after having ravaged, in his way from his own country, the lands of the clan of Macintoſh. Dundee having promiſed to the magiſtrates of Inverneſs to repay, at the king's return, the money extorted from them by Macdonald, induced the latter to join him with all his men. He could not prevent them, however, from firſt returning home with their ſpoil. He accompanied them to Lochaber, and on the 8th of May arrived in Badenoch. From thence he wrote letters to the chiefs of all the clans, appointing them to meet at a general rendezvous at Lochaber, on the 18th of the ſame month. In the mean time, paſſing ſuddenly

through Athol, he ſurpriſed the town of Perth. In hopes of gaining to his party the two troops of Scots dragoons who lay at Dundee, he marched ſuddenly to that place: but the fidelity of Captain Balfour, who commanded them, diſappointed his views. Having raiſed the land-tax as he paſſed, Dundee returned through Athol and Rannoch to hold the diet of rendezvous at Lochaber. Here he was reinforced by ſeveral Highland chieftains, ſo that his army amounted to fifteen hundred men. He purſued Mackay for four days, who had advanced to Inverneſs, but afterwards retreated to Strathbogie, leaving the whole Highlands expoſed to the enemy. Soon after, however, Dundee found himſelf ſurrounded with many difficulties. The officers of the Scots dragoons, who held a ſecret correſpondence with him, wrote him falſe intelligence, as an excuſe for their own fears. They informed him, that a party of Iriſh, who had endeavoured to land in Scotland, under the Duke of Berwick, were driven back, and the duke himſelf taken priſoner; and that Mackay had been reinforced with a regiment of Engliſh horſe, and another of foot. On this intelligence, Dundee retreated to Badenoch. The natives of the low country who ſerved in his army quitted him without leave; and the Highlanders plundered the country wherever they came: at laſt he himſelf fell ſick, while Mackay hovered on his rear. A ſlight ſkirmiſh happened, in which the Highlanders prevailed; but they loſt their baggage during the action. Dundee at length arrived at Ruthven; but Mackay being reinforced with a body of twelve hundred men advanced againſt him, and other regiments had arrived at Perth and Dumblain. The Highlanders now deſerted every night by hundreds; their gallant leader himſelf was forced to retire to Lochaber, where only two hundred of his whole force remained with him; and, to complete his misfortunes, he received at the ſame time news of the ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh. On the 23d of June, letters arrived

rived from King James, with a promiſe of immediate ſuccours from Ireland; upon which Dundee ordered the neighbouring clans to aſſemble round his ſtandard. But ſtill he had ſcarcely any thing but the mere bodies of his men with which he could proſecute the war. The Highlanders were armed only with their own proper weapons, and he had no more than forty pounds of powder in his whole army. All difficulties, however, were ſurmounted by the active ſpirit of the general, for whom the army entertained an enthuſiaſtic zeal. On the 17th of July, he met the king's forces under General Mackay, near the paſs of Killicranky. An engagement enſued, in which the Highlanders were victorious. Two thouſand of Mackay's men were loſt either in the field or in the purſuit; but the victory coſt the Highlanders very dear, for their brave general was mortally wounded. He ſurvived the battle, however; and wrote an account of the victory to James: he even imagined his wound was not mortal; but he died the next morning at Blair. With him ended all the hopes of James in Scotland. Colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded Dundee in command, poſſeſſed neither his popularity nor his abilities. After ſome inſignificant actions, in which the valour of the ſoldiers was more conſpicuous than the conduct of their leader, the Highlanders diſperſed themſelves in diſguſt; and the war ſoon after ended favourably for William, without any repulſe given to his enemies.

During the troubles in England, which had terminated in placing William on the throne, the two parties in Ireland were kept in a kind of tranquillity by their mutual fears. The Proteſtants were terrified at the proſpect of another maſſacre; and the Papiſts expected every day to be invaded by the joint force of the Engliſh and Dutch. Their terrors, however, were ill founded; for though Tyrconnel ſent ſeveral meſſages to the prince, that he was ready to deliver up the kingdom to any force that might make a ſurrender decent,

his offers were always rejected. William was perſuaded by the Marquis of Halifax, that, ſhould Ireland yield, no pretence could remain for keeping an army in pay; that then, having no army to protect his authority, he might as eaſily be turned out as he had been brought in; that the Engliſh nation could never remain long in a ſtate of good humour; and that he might perceive they already began to be diſcontented. Theſe inſidious arguments induced William to neglect Ireland in ſuch a manner as is juſtly looked upon to be one of the greateſt blemiſhes in his whole reign. His enemies, indeed, though perhaps without any good foundation, aſſign a worſe cauſe; viz. that, ſhould England be confirmed under his government, Ireland could not long hold out; and that the obſtinacy of his Iriſh enemies would give a pretence for forfeitures to gratify his Engliſh, but eſpecially his foreign, friends.

Tyrconnel, diſappointed in his views of ſurrendering Ireland to the Prince of Orange, affected to adhere to James. The whole military force of the kingdom at that time amounted only to four thouſand men, and of theſe only ſix hundred were in Dublin; and what was ſtill worſe, all of them were ſo much diſpoſed to quit the ſervice, that the lord deputy was obliged to iſſue commiſſions for levying new forces. Upon this, an half-armed rabble, rather than an army, roſe ſuddenly in various parts of the kingdom. Having no pay from the king, they ſubſiſted by depredations, and regarded no diſcipline. The Proteſtants in the north armed themſelves in their own defence; and the city of Londonderry, relying on its ſituation, and a ſlight wall, ſhut its gates againſt the new-raiſed army. Proteſtant parties in the mean time roſe every where, declaring their reſolution to unite in ſelf-defence, to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, to continue their dependence on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament.

To

To preserve appearances, William now sent General Hamilton, an Irishman and a Roman catholic, to treat with Tyrconnel; but, instead of persuading that lord to yield to William, this messenger advised him to adhere to James. In the mean time James himself assured the lord deputy, that he was ready to sail from Brest with a powerful armament. Hamilton, assuming spirit from the hopes of this aid, marched against the northern insurgents. They were routed with considerable slaughter at Drumore; and Hillsborough, where they had fixed their head-quarters, was taken without resistance: the city of Londonderry, however, resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

William now pressed his parliament to enable him to make head against the abdicated king in Ireland; the language he used on the occasion deserves to be commemorated. "I assure you," said the king, "I will never abuse the confidence you shall put in me; being fully persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a good government between a king and his people, but a mutual trust: when that is once broken, a government is half dissolved: it shall therefore be my chief care never to give any parliament cause to distrust me; and, the best method I can choose for that purpose is, never to expect any thing from them, but what it shall be their own interest to grant." He then proceeded to urge the necessity of preparing for war without delay; the payment of the Dutch charges in the cause of the revolution, and the settlement of the revenue. To reduce Ireland he demanded twenty thousand men; for the marine service he said a powerful fleet was necessary to be joined to that Holland, in order to guard the seas against France. "The Dutch," he said, "had neglected their own safety, to relieve England from the extremity she was under. By this conduct they had drawn inevitable destruction upon themselves, unless the service was now repaid: the grand enemy to the repose of Europe meditated the destruction of Holland, as

as the previous ſtep to that of England. The Dutch have really," continued he, "exhauſted themſelves to a degree which is not eaſy to be imagined; and I am confident your generoſity towards them will have as little bounds as theirs had towards you."

Among the army there were ſome corps diſaffected to the reigning prince; and of the Scotch, the royal regiment of dragoons particularly, which are known at preſent by the name of the Scotch grays; and Lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The laſt of theſe had been the favourite regiment of the late king, becauſe it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and ſoldiers were at this time diſguſted, becauſe Lord Dumbarton had been diſmiſſed from the command of it, and Marſhal Schomberg put in his room. William therefore reſolved to ſend over the diſaffected corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace ſome of the Dutch troops, which, as he could confide in, he determined to keep in England. The regiments which were to be ſent off mutinied in their march to Ipſwich, ſeized the military cheſt, diſarmed the officers who oppoſed their deſign, declared for King James. and, with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. The king immediately hereupon ordered General Ginkle to purſue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, to whom the mutineers ſurrendered at diſcretion. The king removed a few of their officers, and inflicted no other puniſhment on the corps, than to take from them the power of doing miſchief, by ſending them to the place of their deſtination; and ſoon after he tranſported the other diſaffected troops into Flanders; thus turning that animoſity of ſpirit againſt the nation's enemies, which, if ſuffered to gain ſtrength at home, might have recoiled againſt the power it was deſigned to protect. This mutiny gave riſe to a law, which made an important innovation in the Engliſh conſtitution, namely, the act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. By this law a

legal ſanction was given to the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies, which had been hitherto rather connived at than authorized by parliament. This act, limited to the ſpace of one year, has ever ſince been annually renewed; but, the renewal being almoſt conſidered as a matter of courſe, the form ſerves only to keep the people in mind that ſtanding armies were deemed illegal by their anceſtors.

On the 7th of March 1689, James embarked at Breſt. The whole force of his expedition conſiſted of fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire-ſhips. Twelve hundred of his native ſubjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, compoſed the whole army of James. He landed at Kinſale without oppoſition on the 12th of the month, where he was received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy. His firſt care was to ſecure, in the fort of Kinſale, the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought from France; and put the town in ſome poſture of defence: which having done, he advanced to Corke. Tyrconnel arrived at this place ſoon after, and brought intelligence of the rout at Drumore. James was ſo much pleaſed with his attachment and ſervices, that he created him a duke; after which he himſelf advanced towards Dublin. The condition of the rabble, who poured round him under the name of an *army*, was not calculated to raiſe his hopes of ſucceſs. The moſt of them were only provided with clubs; ſome had ſticks tipt with iron; and even of thoſe who were beſt armed, ſcarcely two in a hundred had muſkets fit for ſervice. Their very numbers diſtreſſed their ſovereign, and ruined the country; inſomuch that James reſolved to diſband the greateſt part of them. More than one hundred thouſand were already on foot in the different parts of the iſland. Of theſe he reſerved fourteen regiments of horſe and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot; the reſt he ordered to their reſpective

tive homes, and armed thoſe that were retained in the beſt manner he could.

James made his public entry into Dublin, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met by a Popiſh proceſſion, bearing the hoſt, which he publicly adored; and this ſerved to alienate the few Proteſtants of that kingdom who ſtill adhered to his cauſe. Being ſo well received at Dublin, James proceeded immediately to buſineſs. He ordered, by proclamation, all Proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return. He commanded, in a ſecond proclamation, all Papiſts, except thoſe in his army, to lay up their arms, and put an end to the robberies and depredations which they had committed in the violence of their zeal. He raiſed the value of the currency by a proclamation; and he ſummoned a parliament to meet on the 7th of May, to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom. The Proteſtant clergy repreſented their grievances in an addreſs; and the univerſity of Dublin appeared with complaints and congratulations. He aſſured the firſt of his abſolute protection, and a full redreſs; and he promiſed the latter not only to defend, but even to enlarge, their privileges.

On the 8th of April, James left Dublin, reſolving to lead his army againſt the inſurgents in perſon. He took Coleraine and Kilmore, after a ſtout reſiſtance, and then marched towards Londonderry, and met with a vigorous reſiſtance, for a whole night, at the Long Cauſey; but, being greatly ſuperior in number, forced them to retreat Londonderry. Upon this a council of war was held in the town, in which it was agreed to ſurrender the place to King James. Captain White was accordingly ſent out to receive propoſals from him, and it was at the ſame time agreed with Lieutenant-general Hamilton, that he ſhould not march the army within four miles of the town. But James, being perſuaded that they would ſurrender at the ſight of his formidable army, advanced before the walls, when, meeting

meeting with a warm reception, his men were put into some disorder; upon which the king returned to St. John's town. The narrative of this memorable siege is compiled from Dr. Walker's Account; he was rector of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, and raised a regiment in favour of the Protestant cause. The governor of the town, being inclined to surrender the place, was suspected of disaffection to King William, and was glad to make his escape to Scotland. The garrison being effectually encouraged by Doctor Walker, to maintain the town against King James, he and Major Baker were chosen governors of it during the approaching siege. They regimented the men in the town to the number of 7020, eight colonels, and 333 inferior officers. But after all, the town was but in a bad condition to stand out against so formidable an army as was that of James. For it was ill fortified, the garrison composed of poor people, frightened from their own homes, without a proportionable number of horse to sally out, or engineers to instruct and assist them, and not above twenty guns, viz. eight sakers, and twelve demiculverins, and all of them badly mounted; add to this, that they had but scanty provisions to supply the many mouths they had to feed. Nor were they thoroughly united; for several deserted day after day; others gave constant intelligence to the besiegers, and secretly laboured to betray the governors; yet was the courage and zeal of the majority superior to all these difficulties. The place was invested on the 20th of April, and the next day James began to batter it. The governors took an opportunity to send to King William for a speedy assistance, acquainting him with their resolution to defend the place to the utmost extremity. In the mean time several attacks were made by the besiegers, and as many sallies by the garrison, and all to the advantage of the latter, who suffered less from the enemy without, than from those worse enemies within, famine and sickness.---King James,

on the 29th of April, left the camp to meet his parliament at Dublin; and the beſiegers, finding their attempts did not ſucceed, removed their main body from St. John's town, to Rely-ugry-hill, about two miles from Londonderry, for the cloſer guarding of the city, and to hinder the town's people from coming to the wells for water. On the 4th of June the beſiegers made an aſſault on that part of the place they thought the moſt acceſſible, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the next morning began to batter the walls with as little ſucceſs. But now the beſieged began to be reduced to the greateſt extremity, when they diſcovered three ſhips that fired at Kilmore-caſtle, and attempted coming up the river; but were prevented by the enemy's ſhot. Soon after, June 15, they ſaw a fleet of thirty ſail in the Lough, which they imagined came from England to their relief. But they could get no intelligence from them; the enemy watching them very narrowly, and, having raiſed batteries oppoſite to the ſhips, lined both ſides of the river with muſqueteers, and contrived in the narrow part of the river, where the ſhips were to paſs, a kind of ſtaccado, a boom of timber joined by iron chains, and ſtrengthened by a cable of twelve inches thickneſs, twiſted round it. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, one Roch boldly ventured to get to the water ſide, over againſt the town, and then, ſwimming croſs the river, informed the beſieged, that Major-general Kirk was come to their aſſiſtance, with men, proviſion, and arms. This meſſenger was accompanied by another, to give the ſame account, and to know the condition of the garriſon, but, being taken by the enemy, was by them inſtructed to frame a meſſage much differing from the other. Thereupon the beſiegers invited the garriſon to a parley, telling them that they were under great miſtakes about Kirk, and their expectations from England, where things were all in confuſion; and that they might have leave to inform themſelves from the meſſenger

 they

they had taken. But the cheat was ſoon diſcovered by thoſe perſons whom the beſieged ſent to inquire into the matter. The beſieged received farther intelligence by a little boy, who, with great ingenuity, brought two letters from Major-general Inch; the one tied in his garter, and another within a cloth button, by which they were given to underſtand that Inch would endeavour to relieve them, and that more help was coming from England, where all was quiet.

But in the mean time the beſieged were greatly weakened by famine, which raged among them; and, though they made ſeveral bold attempts to reach the ſhips in the river, they were ſtill prevented by the enemy's ſhot. Major Baker falling ſick about this time, Colonel Michleburn was choſen in his room, to aſſiſt Dr. Walker in the government of the town. As to the beſiegers, they were encouraged by the arrival of a French general, Conrard de Roſe, who was appointed to the chief command in the Iriſh camp. The general having viewed the fortifications of the town, and finding what little progreſs had been made in the ſiege, expreſſed himſelf with great fury at the beſieged, ſwore he would level the place with the ground, and bury thoſe who defended it in the ruins, and threatened to commit the utmoſt barbarities. But the beſieged, having abſolutely devoted themſelves to the defence of their city and religion, were as little moved by his threats as by his promiſes, of which he was equally liberal. And, to prevent the town from being ſurrendered, the governors made an order, that the penalty for ſuch a motion ſhould be immediate death.

Governor Baker, to the great loſs and affliction of the beſieged, died on the 20th of June. Three days before, General Hamilton ſent ſome plauſible offers to the garriſon, to which they ſeemed to hearken, till they had taken the opportunity to ſearch for proviſions. And though they were reduced to the neceſſity of feeding upon horſe-fleſh, dogs, cats, rats, and mice, tal-

low, ſtarch, dried and ſalted hides, and even the moſt loathſome things, yet they reſolved to eat the Iriſh, and then one another, rather than ſurrender; and therefore returned a reſolute refuſal to Hamilton.

The French general was ſo enraged at their obſtinacy, that he publiſhed an order directed to the governors and garriſon of Londonderry, importing, "That, if they did not deliver up the town to him by the firſt of July, he would lay waſte all the country, and diſpatch orders to rob all, protected, as well as unprotected, Proteſtants, related to the garriſon, or their faction; and that they ſhould be driven under the walls of Derry, where they ſhould be ſuffered to ſtarve."

But the beſieged treated this order with the ſame contempt as they had done Hamilton's; however, upon application made by the Biſhop of Meath to James, he ſaid he had countermanded the French general's order; and that, had he been a ſubject of his own, he would have called him to an account for it. But, notwithſtanding this, ſeven thouſand of the poor Proteſtants were gathered together, and brought under the walls of Londonderry, where they muſt have periſhed, if the garriſon had not erected a gallows in view of the beſiegers, threatening to hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, by way of repriſals, and acquainted the enemy, that they might ſend prieſts to their friends to prepare them for death after their own manner. Even the priſoners themſelves deteſted the barbarity of the French generals, and declared they could not blame the garriſon for putting them to death. They alſo deſired leave to write to Hamilton; this was granted, but their remonſtrances had ſeemingly no effect on him; but the ſight of the gallows, and the interpoſition of ſome friends, at laſt prevailed, and the poor half-ſtarved Proteſtants had leave to return to their habitations. As the garriſon conſiſted of five thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men, the governors took the opportunity to leſſen them, by turning out

five

five hundred useless people among the Protestants under the walls, who got off with them unnoticed by the enemy, though, in exchange, they got some able and strong men out of their numbers. But now the vilest eatables were almost consumed, and the garrison had nothing left to feed on, but one another.

Then the governor, Dr. Walker, fearing the distress of the garrison might overcome their resolution, preached in the cathedral, endeavoured to confirm their constancy, by reminding them of the several instances of Providence that they had experienced during the siege, and, with a kind of prophetic energy, assured them of a speedy deliverance. And indeed it so happened; for, within an hour after, the garrison discovered three ships, which Major Kirk, according to his promise, had sent. These were the Mountjoy of Derry, commanded by Captain Browning; the Phœnix of Calram, by Captain Douglas, laden with provision, convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate.

The enemy fired furiously upon them from Culmore, and both sides the river, which was received and returned with great bravery. One of the ships, the Mountjoy, made a little stop at the boom, occasioned by her rebound, after striking, and, breaking it, by this means ran aground. At which the enemy gave a loud and joyful shout, and, which alarmed the besieged more, fired all their guns upon her, and were preparing their boats to board her. But happily, firing a broadside, the shock so loosened the ship, that she got clear, and passed the boom. In the mean time Captain Douglas was engaged, and the Dartmouth kept the enemy fully employed, till the ships got up to the city, to the inconceivable joy of the garrison, who had only two days miserable provisions, nine lean horses, and each man a pint of meal.

This brave and successful undertaking so discouraged the enemy, that they raised the siege in the night, of the 28th of July, in great confusion, making miserable

havock

havock in the country, as they retreated. Their firſt encampment was at Strabane; but, hearing that the Inniſkillin men had defeated their forces under Lieutenant Mackarty, they removed their camp farther.

The inhabitants of Inniſkillin were no leſs brave than thoſe of Londonderry, who had proclaimed William and Mary on the 11th of March; for Lord Gilmoy declaring for James, having ſummoned the governor to ſurrender the place to him, they unanimouſly agreed, in council, to ſupport the Proteſtant religion, and King William's title; upon which Lord Gilmoy landed all his forces near Crom, a caſtle 16 miles diſtant from Inniſkillin, and held by the Proteſtants, which was beſieged ſome time by part of his troops; but the Inniſkillers, having thrown a relief of two hundred men into the caſtle, forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat to Belturbat. April the 24th, a detachment of the garriſon of Inniſkillin, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, made an incurſion into the enemy's country, took and demoliſhed the caſtle at Anghor, and returned home with a conſiderable booty. Several other ſkirmiſhes and rencounters paſſed between the two parties, wherein the Inniſkilliners ſignalized their valour, and always proved ſucceſsful. But the moſt remarkable was that which happened on the ſame day on which Londonderry was relieved, when two thouſand Inniſkilliners fought and routed ſix thouſand Iriſh, at a place called Newton-butler, and took their commander, Mackarty, with the loſs of only twenty men killed and fifty wounded.

During theſe tranſactions, King William declared war againſt the French king; but, previous to this, an engagement happened between the Engliſh and French fleets in Bantry-bay. Admiral Herbert being informed that a conſiderable ſupply, which the French king was ſending to King James, was ſhipping off at Breſt, intended to have gone directly towards that harbour, but the wind changing to the eaſt, which might

might bring the French fleet out, he ſtood over to Kinſale. But, ſix days after, hearing the enemy were gone into Baltimore, being forty-four ſail, commanded by Chateau Renaut, he bore away towards that place, but found there no ſign of them. However, in the evening, his ſcouts diſcovered them making for Bantry-bay. Herbert lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, ſtood in, and found the French at an anchor. But, upon the approach of the Engliſh fleet, they preſently got under ſail, and bore down upon them in a line of twenty-eight men of war, and five fireſhips. Admiral Herbert's ſquadron conſiſted of eighteen men of war, a frigate, and a fireſhip: he came up with the enemy on the 1ſt of May, 1689, when he ſtood in to engage them. The French admiral, conſcious of his ſuperiority, and perceiving the intention of the Engliſh, weighed anchor, formed his fleet into a line of battle, and advanced, in regular order, to the combat. The ardour of the Engliſh admiral, and of the Engliſh ſeamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line being formed with the ſame regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and ſhewed, by their workings, to the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh, that their veſſels were agile, and their ſeamen dextrous. The battle continued the greateſt part of the day, without any deciſive ſucceſs on either ſide. Herbert tacked ſeveral times, in hopes of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept the wind with uncommon ſkill and perſeverance. In the evening the Engliſh retired towards Scilly, the French towards Ireland. No ſhips were loſt on either ſide, but ſeveral were diſabled. The Engliſh had one hundred men killed and three hundred wounded. Each admiral laid claim to the victory, as it often happens in ſea-engagements; but the Engliſh officers and ſeamen looked upon it as a defeat, becauſe they had gained no deciſive advantage on their own element, and the French accounted it a victory not to have been

been defeated. The latter, however, made their diſembarkation good, and returned unmoleſted into the port of Breſt, which determined on whoſe ſide the advantage lay. Herbert expected a reinforcement to join him at the Scilly Iſles, but, receiving none, he returned to Portſmouth much chagrined, and the officers and ſeamen partook of his ill-humour. King William, in order to appeaſe theſe diſcontents, viſited his fleet at Portſmouth, went on-board the admiral's ſhip Elizabeth, where he dined, and beſtowed a peerage on Herbert; knighted Captains Aſhby and Shovel, and beſtowed a donation of ten ſhillings on every private ſeaman. The men, highly gratified by this behaviour of their ſovereign, were led to believe that they had beat that enemy, by whom a few days ago they had acknowledged they were defeated.

To return to the affairs of Ireland. As ſoon as news was brought to England that the ſiege of Londonderry was raiſed, General Schomberg ſailed, with ninety veſſels of all ſorts, and near ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, for Carrickfergus, and on the next day in the afternoon, arrived in that bay, where the army preſently landed, without oppoſition, on Bangor ſide. They firſt ſent out parties to ſcour the country round about, and get intelligence of the enemy. Theſe being returned back ſafe, the general led his army to Belfaſt, which the enemy had quitted, retiring to Carrickfergus, and where ſeveral perſons joined him who durſt not declare before. After the army was refreſhed, ſeveral regiments were detached forwards to Carrickfergus with cannon and mortars, upon whoſe approach, the enemy beat a parley; but the general not aſſenting to their demands, the town was attacked. The trenches were opened on the 22d of Auguſt, ſome batteries raiſed, and the ſiege carried on in form. The beſieged were now more eager than before to capitulate; but the duke ſtill refuſing to let them march out with the uſual honours of war, and they inſiſting upon it, the attacks were

J. Chapman Sculp.

DUKE of SCOMBERG

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were vigorously continued till the 26th of Auguſt; when, ſome conſiderable breaches being made, and all things ready for a general aſſault, the garriſon was contented to accept the conditions the beſiegers were pleaſed to grant, viz. to be conducted with arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs, to Newry, being the next Iriſh garriſon.

Whilſt the ſiege of Carrickfergus was carrying on, the reſt of the Engliſh forces, which had been detained behind for want of ſhips, were embarked at Highlake, and ſafely landed in Ireland. Auguſt 28, the duke returned to Belfaſt; and, on the laſt day of the month, muſtered his army, conſiſting of four regiments of horſe, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot, and pitched his camp at Drummore. The next day he purſued his march to Loughbrilane, and continued in an uncertain poſture, till the twentieth of September, when he received advice that King James having gathered all his forces near Drogheda, advanced towards him; and that a party of 2000 foot, and 1500 horſe, were gone beyond the mountains to attack the paſs at Newry, and fall into his rear. He therefore detached a party of horſe againſt them, at the ſight of whom they retreated towards Sligo. Though the enemy ſeveral times, ſeemingly, offered him battle, yet the duke prudently declined, conſidering the inferiority of his horſe, and the weak ſtate of his army, through hunger and ſickneſs, whilſt the enemy was fluſhed with health and plenty. A day or two after, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed in the Engliſh camp, but was ſoon diſcovered and prevented.

Though the duke thought proper to keep inactive upon the whole, yet he permitted the Inniſkilliners to make excurſions, which they did with great ſucceſs. But, ſome time after, the Iriſh were alſo ſucceſsful in their turns, and took Sligo and James-Town. For, marching that way in a conſiderable body, under the command of one Sarsfield, thoſe of James-Town not

thinking it tenable, abandoned it, and marched to Sligo; but they loſt ſome of their men, and killed ſome of the Iriſh, in their haſty retreat. Sarsfield, the next day, advanced with his little army before Sligo, upon which Colonel Ruſſel retired to Balliſhannon, and adviſed the foot alſo to quit the place. However, M. St. Sauveur, a reſolute French captain in Melloniere's regiment, with his own company of French grenadiers, and Colonel Lloyd with his bold Inniſkilliners, continued in the town, and, upon the approach of Sarsfield, retreated to the two forts, each into one. The laſt not knowing how to ſubſiſt his men retired in the night with ſome loſs; but the French captain having carried in ſome proviſions, and finding ſome ammunition in the fort, bravely reſolved to maintain his poſt. The nights were then dark, and he, fearing the enemy might make their approaches to the fort undiſcovered, got a great many fir-deals, and, dipping the ends of them in tar, they gave ſuch a light, when ſet on fire and hung over the walls, that he diſcovered the enemy advancing towards them with an engine called a ſow; but, having killed the engineer and two or three more, the reſt retreated, and he burnt the engine. As ſoon as day appeared, the Iriſh were forced to quit a ſmall field-piece they had planted in the ſtreet, being galled with ſhot from the fort by St. Sauveur's men, who preſently after ſallied out, and killed the men. But at laſt, though their courage did not fail, yet their proviſion did; and, there being little or no water in the fort, they ſurrendered it upon honourable terms; and, at their marching over the bridge, Colonel Sarsfield, being deſirous to purchaſe theſe brave men at any rate, ſtood with a purſe of gold, and offered every man who would ſerve King James horſe and arms, with five guineas advance; but they all anſwered, "They would never fight for papiſts;" one excepted, who, the next day after he had got the horſe, arms, and money, brought all off with him to Dundalk.

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In the mean time, ſickneſs raging in the Engliſh army, occaſioned by the unwholeſomeneſs of the place, wet weather, and bad food, numbers of both officers and ſoldiers died daily. Of the latter 2000 died at Dundalk, and as many were tranſported by ſea to Belfaſt, of whom not above nine hundred lived to reach the ſhore; and ſo great was the mortality next year, that near two-thirds of the army periſhed. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, and Duke Schomberg renewed his inſtances for the coming over of ſeven thouſand auxiliary Danes, who about this time arrived in England and Scotland.

Next year, 1690, the Engliſh army, being better provided with freſh proviſions, began to grow more healthy, when General Schomberg, being informed that the enemy was drawing down ſome forces towards Dundalk, and that they had provided magazines with a deſign to diſturb his frontier garriſons, ſent a conſiderable body of horſe and foot that way, and marched himſelf towards Drummore, to obſerve the enemies motions. But the deſigns of the Iriſh lay at this time another way; for, while the duke was upon this expedition, Colonel Woolſey was informed, that they intended to fall upon Belturbat, a town which that colonel had taken from them not long before. Thereupon Woolſey marched with great diligence from Belturbat, with ſeven hundred foot, and three hundred horſe and dragoons, towards the enemy; but, being unacquainted with their numbers, and they having had notice of his approach, inſtead of ſurpriſing them he was ſurpriſed himſelf, finding them nine thouſand ſtrong, and in a poſture to receive him. However, there being now no way to retreat, either with honour or ſafety, he made his men ſenſible of their common danger, and ſo animated them by his own example, that, having engaged the Iriſh, he defeated them with great loſs; purſued them as far as Cavan, where they had a little fort; ſet that town on fire; and, in his return to Belturbat,

took the caſtle of Killiſhandra, with a great booty of cattle. About the ſame time Sir John Lanier, with a party of a thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, made an attempt upon Dundalk, took Bedloe-caſtle, and about one thouſand five hundred cows and oxen; and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, on Good Friday, took the only frigate the late king had in his poſſeſſion, in that monarch's own ſight, in Dublin-bay, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition that could be made againſt him by ſea and land. But what afflicted King James more ſenſibly, was the loſs of the caſtle of Charlemont, a ſtrong place, chiefly by nature, as being ſeated upon a piece of ground in the middle of a bay, and only acceſſible by two ways, which the Iriſh had partly broken down. This poſt being of great importance, Duke Schomberg reſolved to make himſelf maſter of it, and ſucceeded in his attempt partly by a ſtratagem. The garriſon of that place, which for ſome time had been blocked up by the French regiments of La Caillemote and Cambon, being put to great ſtreights for want of victuals, the abdicated king ſent a ſtrong detachment under M'Mahon with proviſion to relieve it; of which Duke Schomberg being informed, ordered the blockade to let M'Mahon paſs with his convoy after a ſlight reſiſtance, but to drive back all that returned from the caſtle. By this means the garriſon, that had received but a ſlender relief, and were forced to feed their new gueſts as well as themſelves, were ſoon reduced to greater exigencies than before, and, by a vigorous proſecution of the ſiege, forced at laſt to capitulate on the 13th of May. The next day they marched out, to the number of eight hundred men; and the duke, who was come to view them, ſeeing many women and children among them, aſked the reaſon of it, conſidering they could not but deſtroy their proviſions. He was anſwered, That the Iriſh were naturally very hoſpitable, and that they all fared alike: but the greateſt reaſon was, the ſoldiers would not ſtay in the garriſon without their

their wives and miſtreſſes. To which his grace replied, "There was more love than policy in it." There was found in the place good ſtore of ammunition, ſeventeen pieces of braſs cannon, and two mortars; ſo that the enemy might have held out longer, if they had not wanted either courage or proviſions. The ſame day that Charlemont ſurrendered, the brave Colonel Woolſey, who had been conſiderably reinforced by a party of Danes, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle of Balingargy, near Cavan. Upon the loſs of which, the Iriſh quitted two conſiderable poſts, and burnt ſeveral caſtles on that ſide, and prepared to abandon Dundalk, Ardee, Caſtle-Blaney, and Carichmarh-Croſs.

Thus ſtood affairs in Ireland, when King William landed at Carrickfergus, on June 14, 1690, being attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Mancheſter, the Hon. Mr. Boyle, and many other perſons of diſtinction; and that evening went to Belfaſt in Duke Schomberg's coach. Two or three days after, his majeſty marched to Liſburn, where the general kept his head-quarters, and from thence to Hillſborough, where, on the 20th, he publiſhed an order forbidding the preſſing of horſes, and the committing any violences on the country people. His majeſty, having declared both his intention of purſuing the war with vigour, and his diſapprobation of the cautious counſels of ſome of his generals, by ſaying, That he did not come there to let graſs grow under his feet, ordered the whole army to encamp at a place called Loughbritland; where, upon a critical review, he found them to conſiſt of thirty-ſix thouſand men, Engliſh, Dutch, French, Danes, and Germans, all well appointed in every reſpect. From Loughbritland King William marched his army to Dundalk, and was ſo pleaſed with the proſpect of the country, as he rode along, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, "It was highly worth fighting

for." He did not ſtay long at Dundalk, but, upon advice that the enemy had abandoned Ardee, he immediately directed his march thither.

The late King James was no ſooner informed of King William's landing, but he began to ſtir himſelf, and on June the 16th ſet out from Dublin, with about ſix thouſand French foot, conſiſting of old experienced ſoldiers who were lately arrived from France, and committed the guard of that city to ſix thouſand of the county militia, under the command of Colonel Luttrel. Having joined the reſt of his forces, which now amounted to almoſt an equal number with thoſe of King William's, beſides fifteen thouſand which remained in garriſons, a council of war was held, wherein it was thought fit to repaſs the Boyne, and to weary out the Engliſh by marches and counter-marches along that river, it being thought impoſſible for them to paſs it, while James had an army to defend the oppoſite banks at ſuch an advantage; but nevertheleſs that unfortunate prince, knowing King William's courage and reſolution were rather animated than damped by difficulties, and miſtruſting the event, ordered Sir Patrick Trant, commiſſioner of the revenue, to prepare him ſhips at Waterford, that in caſe he were worſted he might ſecure his retreat to France.

On the 13th of June, King William, being informed that the enemy had repaſſed the Boyne, ordered his whole army to move by break of day in three lines towards that river, which was about three miles diſtant from them: whereupon the advanced-guards of horſe, commanded by Sir John Lanier, moved in very good order, and by nine o'clock got within two miles of Drogheda. The king, who marched in the front of them, obſerving there was a hill to the eaſt of the enemy, and north from the town, rode thither to view their camp, which he found to be all along the river in two lines. Here the king held a long conſultation with the Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Schomberg and Ormond,

Ormond, Count Solmes, Major-general Scravenmore, Lord Sidney, and other great officers, who made all their obſervations upon the enemy. Among the reſt, Scravenmore ſeemed to deſpiſe them, ſaying they were but a handful of men, for he could not reckon above forty-ſix battalions that lay encamped; but the king and Prince George wiſely anſwered, that they might have a great many men in the town, and that there was alſo a hill to the ſouth-weſt, beyond which part of their army might be encamped; however, added the king, "we ſhall ſoon be better acquainted with their numbers." From this place the king rode on to the paſs at the old bridge, and ſtood upon the ſide of the bank, within muſket-ſhot of the fords there, to take a nearer view of the enemies poſture; and, in ſome time after, rode about two hundred paces up the river, near the weſt of all the enemies' camp. Whilſt the army was marching in, his majeſty, being fatigued with his toil, alighted from his horſe, and reſted himſelf for an hour on a little eminence; which the enemy perceiving, they immediately planted two field-pieces oppoſite to him. The king had no ſooner mounted again, but the Iriſh fired at him, and with the firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes within a hundred paces of his majeſty. This bullet was ſoon ſucceeded by another; which, having firſt grazed on the bank of the river, did in its riſing ſlant upon the king's right ſhoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and tore the ſkin and fleſh, and afterwards broke the head of a gentleman's piſtol. It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs what a ſudden conſternation this unexpected accident ſtruck into all that were about the king. On the other ſide, the enemy ſeeing ſome diſorder among thoſe that attended King William, concluded preſently he was killed; which falſe report flew very ſoon to Dublin, and from thence ſpread as far as Pars, where the giddy multitude expreſſed their joy by bonfires and illuminations. King William, having got his wound dreſſed, mounted again on horſeback,

and

and ſhewed himſelf to the whole army, to diſſipate their juſt alarm.

The two armies being thus in ſight, and cannonading one another, King William, about nine at night, having called a council of war, declared his reſolution to paſs the river the next day, which Duke Schomberg at firſt oppoſed, but, finding his majeſty poſitive, he adviſed that part of the army, horſe and foot, ſhould be ſent that night towards Slane-bridge, in order to paſs the river thereabouts, and ſo get between the enemy and the paſs at Duleck: but, it being afterwards oppoſed by the Dutch generals, Duke Schomberg retired to his tent, where not long after the order of battle was brought him, which he received with diſcontent and indifference, ſaying, "It was the firſt that ever was ſent to him."

Lieutenant-general Douglas was to command the right wing of foot, and Count Maynard de Schomberg the horſe, who were to march on early toward Slane-bridge, and other fords up the river, to flank the enemy, or get between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, whilſt in the mean time a body of foot were to force their way at the paſs at Old Bridge.

On the other ſide, the late King James having alſo called a council, Lieutenant-general Hamilton adviſed his majeſty to ſend a party of dragoons to the ford that was below the town of Drogheda, which the Engliſh knew not of, or elſe did not regard; and all the reſt, being eight regiments, towards the bridge of Slane; but James ſaid he would ſend fifty dragoons up the river, which juſtly put Hamilton into great amazement, conſidering the importance of the place to be defended. Towards the cloſe of the evening the cannon ceaſed on both ſides, and King William gave orders, that every ſoldier ſhould be provided with a good ſtock of ammunition, and all to be ready to march by break of day with every man a green bough in his hat, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the enemy, who wore pieces of

of white paper. The word that night being Weſtminſter, his majeſty rode in perſon about twelve o'clock at night, with torches, quite through the army, and then retired to his tent, with eager expectation of the glorious approaching day.

The expected day being come, July 1, 1690, about ſix in the morning, Lieutenant-general Douglas marched towards the right with ſome foot, as did Count Schomberg with the horſe; which the enemy obſerving, they drew out their horſe and foot towards the left, to oppoſe them. King William's right wing was at firſt ordered to paſs all at Slane, but, upon better information from the guides, ſeveral regiments were commanded to go over at other fords, between the camp and that place. When the horſe approached the river, a regiment of the enemy's dragoons made a ſhow of oppoſing their paſſage; but, being ſoon forced to retire with loſs, the Engliſh got over, and advanced towards the enemy's main body, which they found drawn up in two lines. Thereupon Douglas drew up his detachment in two lines alſo, but, having but ſix battalions of foot to twenty-four of horſe, he ſent for more of the firſt, and in the mean time, according to the Earl of Portland's advice, the horſe and foot were intermixed for their greater ſecurity. More foot being come up, this figure was immediately altered, and all the horſe drawn to the right, whilſt the foot moved towards a bog on the left, which lay between them and the enemy, and through which it was impoſſible for the horſe to march. The Iriſh, obſerving their motions, retreated in ſome haſte towards Duleck, but were vigorouſly purſued by Count Schomberg.

Though King William was ignorant of what had paſſed between his men and the enemy, yet, ſuppoſing that by this time they had paſſed the river, he ordered three attacks to be made: the firſt at a good ford, before a ſmall village, where the Iriſh were advantageouſly poſted. The Dutch regiment of foot-guards

took the river firſt at Old Bridge, wading to the middle; and, being got over amidſt the enemy's fire without making halt, they drew up into two files, and then fired upon the Iriſh, who, not bearing the charge, abandoned their intrenchments. But, before the third battalion of their regiment had paſſed the ford, five battalions of the enemy advanced very boldly within piſtol-ſhot of the Dutch, who received them ſo warmly, that they retreated with the loſs of ſome men and one colour: hereupon the Dutch marched beyond the village, and repulſed a ſquadron of James's horſe that would have ſtopped their progreſs. At the ſame time, a ſquadron of Lieutenant-general Hamilton's horſe rode briſkly to the very brink of the river, in order to oppoſe Sir John Hanmore's and Count Naſſau's regiments in paſſing it; and, though they failed in the attempt, yet in their retreat they fell upon the French foot with ſuch undaunted fierceneſs, that they broke through Caillemote's and Cambon's regiments, which wanted pikes to ſtem their furious career; but, the Iriſh wheeling about through the village to recover their own men, they were intercepted by the Dutch and Inniſkilling foot, and moſt of them, after a valiant reſiſtance, cut in pieces. By this time, the Dutch guards being advanced as far as the hedges in the open field, the Iriſh horſe attacked them again with greater numbers, and redoubled fury; but the Dutch remained ſo firm and cloſe, and other regiments having come to their aſſiſtance, that the Iriſh were forced to retire. Then a freſh ſquadron of horſe advanced to ſupport them, but were as vigorouſly repulſed by the French Proteſtants Inniſkilling men. In the firſt of theſe onſets, M. la Caillemote received his mortal wound; and, as he was carrying back by four ſoldiers to the Engliſh camp, he encouraged thoſe that croſſed the river by theſe words, *A la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire*; "To glory, friends, to glory."

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In the mean time the Danes came up to the left, as did the brigades of Hanmore and La Mellionere on the right: the firſt were ſo valiantly attacked in the front by Hamilton's horſe, that they were forced to give ground, and ſome of them to paſs the river again. The Duke of Schomberg perceiving this diſorder, and ſeeing the French Proteſtants left expoſed without a commander, immediately paſſed the river in order to head them, nor could his grace be perſuaded by Mr. Foubert, one of his aids-de-camps, to put on his armour. He was no ſooner got on the other ſide, but he encouraged the French Proteſtants by this ſhort harangue, *Allons, meſſieurs, voila vos perſecuteurs*; "Come on, gentlemen, there are your perſecutors;" pointing to the French Papiſts in the enemy's army. Theſe words were ſcarcely out of his mouth, when fifteen or ſixteen of James's guards, who returned full ſpeed to their main body after the ſlaughter of their companions, and whom the French refugees ſuffered to paſs, thinking them to be of their ſide, fell furiouſly upon the duke, and gave him two wounds on the head, which, however, were not mortal. Thereupon the regiment of Cambon acknowledged their error by committing a greater; for, firing raſhly on the enemy, they ſhot the duke through the neck, of which wound he inſtantly died, and Mr. Foubert was ſhot through the arm in alighting to relieve him. Not long before, Dr. Walker, ſo famous for the defence of Londonderry, received a wound in the belly, which he ſurvived but a few moments.

King William, during all theſe actions, might be ſaid to be every where, ſince he directed all by his conduct; but now his courage muſt alſo have a ſhare in the honour of the day. His majeſty, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, paſſed the river with the left wing of horſe, but with ſome difficulty, for his horſe being bogged, he was forced to alight while his attendants diſengaged his ſteed. As ſoon as the men were got

upon the oppoſite bank, and put in order, his majeſty drew his ſword (though the wound he received the day before made it uneaſy to wield it), and marched at the head of them towards the enemy, who were coming on in good order towards the Engliſh foot, that had now got over the paſs, and were advancing very bravely towards the Iriſh, though they were double their number. When theſe two bodies had got almoſt within muſket-ſhot of each other, the enemy happened to perceive the left wing of the Engliſh horſe moving towards them, at which they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retreated up the hill again to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs. The Engliſh marching in good order came up with them at this village, where the enemy reſuming courage faced about, and made the Engliſh horſe ſhrink, though they had the king at their head. Upon which the king rode to the Inniſkilliners, and aſked them, "what they would do for him?" who, animated by this invitation, boldly came forward, and at the head of them the king received the enemy's fire; but, on wheeling to the left to fetch up his own men again, the Inniſkilliners through a miſtake retired after him above a hundred yards. This made the king move to the left, to put himſelf at the head of ſuch troops as were advancing: while in the mean time the Inniſkilliners, growing ſenſible of their error, went on again ſucceſsfully to the charge. In this place the Duke of Schomberg's regiment of horſe, being compoſed of French Proteſtants, and ſtrengthened by treble the ordinary number of officers, behaved themſelves with undaunted reſolution; like men that fought for a nation amongſt whom themſelves and their friends had found a kind and bountiful ſhelter againſt the perſecution of France.

At the ſame time another party, commanded by Lieutenant-general Ginkle, charged in a lane to the left, but was ſoon overpowered by the Iriſh and forced

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to give way. This being obſerved by a party of Sir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of Colonel Leviſon's, the officers ordered to alight and line a hedge, as alſo a ruined houſe that flanked the lane, from whence they poured in their fire upon the enemy. Ginckle continued in the rear of his men endeavouring to make them ſtand their ground, which put him in ſome danger from the Engliſh dragoons; for, the enemy being ſo cloſe, they could not well obſerve him. However, the dragoons did an excellent piece of ſervice in ſtopping the career of the enemy; and the Dutch horſe having the opportunity of rallying here, as they did to the right, the enemy, after half an hour's ſharp diſpute, were beaten back again with conſiderable loſs. On the other ſide, Lieutenant-general Hamilton, finding his foot did not anſwer his expectation, put himſelf at the head of his horſe, which were likewiſe routed, and himſelf taken priſoner. When brought to the king, his majeſty aſked him, Whether the Iriſh would fight any more? "Yes, ſir, (replied Hamilton,) upon my honour I believe they will." When he pronounced the word honour, the king looked ſternly on him, and then turned about repeating once or twice 'your honour;' intimating, that what he aſſured upon his honour was not to be depended upon, ſince he had forfeited that before by ſiding with Tyrconnel; yet this was all the rebuke the king gave him.

Whilſt theſe things were taking place, Count Schomberg, who by this time was informed of his father's death, purſued the enemy with that fury which a noble reſentment inſpires, and drove them ſeveral miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground with ſlaughtered foes; nor did he reſiſt gratifying his revenge till Lord Portland, by the king's expreſs command, obliged him to return to the place where the foot made a halt, and remained under arms all night.

King William had no reaſon to regard what Hamilton had told him, for that general was no ſooner taken, but

but the fight ceaſed on that ſide; and Count Lauzun, making up to James, (who during the whole action had ſtood with ſome ſquadrons of horſe upon the hill called Dunmore,) repreſented to him how near he was being enveloped: adding, he ought to think of nothing but a retreat, which he doubted not to make good with many brave officers now about him, and the remains of his French and Swiſs troops. This advice was too wholeſome not to be followed by a prince whoſe age and temper did not ſuffer him to end his days by deſpair; and therefore, attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched off to Duleck, and thence in great haſte to Dublin; whilſt Count Lauzun, Sheldon, and ſome other officers, diſpoſed all things for a retreat, which they performed in very good order.

James's whole loſs in this battle was generally computed at fifteen hundred men, amongſt whom were Lord Dongan, Lord Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, Marquis d'Hocquincourt, with ſeveral priſoners; the chief of whom was Lieutenant-general Hamilton, a man that behaved with great courage, and kept victory doubtful till he was made priſoner. On the Engliſh ſide fell about five hundred, an inconſiderable number, conſidering the gain of ſo important a battle, if the renowned Duke of Schomberg had not been among them; but his loſs ſeemed to outweigh all the numbers of the enemy. He had been long a ſoldier of fortune, and fought under almoſt every power in Europe. His ſkill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been perſonally engaged, was ſaid to equal the number of his years: and he died aged eighty-two. As for the king himſelf, he received no manner of hurt in the action, though he was in all the height of it; only a cannon-ball carried away a piece of his boot. His majeſty did all the greateſt of generals could do on ſuch an occaſion: he choſe the field, diſpoſed the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy ſeveral

times, ſupported his forces when they began to ſhrink, and demeaned himſelf throughout with that conduct, gallantry, reſolution, and preſence of mind, and was ſuch a poiſe for inclining the victory to his own ſide, that the Iriſh themſelves ſaid, "That if the Engliſh would change kings with them they would fight the battle over again."

James being arrived at Dublin, and having immediately aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, made a ſpeech to them; and, after remaining there that night, he ſet off the next morning for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis, and arrived there the ſame day, taking care to have the bridges broken down behind him, for fear of being purſued. There he went on-board a veſſel called the Count de Lauzun, that was ready to receive him; but, being met at ſea by the Sieur Foran, the commander of the ſquadron, he deſired him to come on-board his frigate that he might have a quicker paſſage to France, where he ſoon arrived, and fixed his reſidence at St. Germain's. So ſoon as James was gone, all the conſiderable Papiſts fled from Dublin, and the Proteſtants were releaſed, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the militia-arms, and, with the aſſiſtance of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, formed a committee to take care of things, and ſent letters to King William giving an account of what had paſſed, and humbly praying his majeſty to honour the city with his preſence.

Eight days after William had ſailed for Ireland, M. Tourville, with ſeventy-eight great ſhips of war, appeared off Plymouth; with this fleet ſailed twenty-two fire-ſhips, and a great number of frigates. Herbert, now created Lord Torrington, was then at St. Helen's, with only thirty-four ſhips of war; a fleet under Admiral Ruſſel having been ſent to Spain and the Mediterranean, only part of which was at that time returned: the king likewiſe had ſeveral ſhips with him in Ireland, and a very ſmall part of the Dutch ſquadron had

had as yet joined the Engliſh. The poſition of the French fleet cut off all reinforcements which the Engliſh might otherwiſe have received from the weſtward, and, without ſome acceſſion of force, it appeared temerity to come to an action. The admiral, thus circumſtanced, called a council of war, in which it was agreed to avoid fighting. The queen, who was regent during the abſence of the king her huſband, was immediately informed of the ſtate of the two fleets, and of the reſolution which had been formed by the Britiſh officers. The French fleet proceeded through the channel, and, when they had paſſed St. Helen's, Torrington put to ſea, and kept the enemy in ſight, ſtill keeping his own fleet in ſhore, in order to prevent a deſcent being made; and, in caſe he ſhould be compelled to fight, that the ſuperior force of the French might be of leſs avail, from being exerted in a narrow ſea.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen, as regent, found herſelf ſurrounded with numberleſs cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, the contrariety of whoſe ſentiments frequently produced great embarraſſment in determining upon public meaſures. The foreign invaſion which now threatened her kingdom, had been undertaken in conſequence of a confederacy which had been formed by the Jacobites at home, which plot, to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, and to reſtore the abdicated monarch, had juſt then been diſcovered. In this alarming poſture of affairs, when the greateſt firmneſs and ſelf-poſſeſſion were required to withſtand the attacks of open and concealed enemies, the queen experienced additional perturbations of mind, from her apprehenſions for her father's ſafety and her huſband's life. Nevertheleſs ſhe diſguiſed her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. She referred the opinion of the council of war to Admiral Ruſſel, the only member of the cabinet-council who was by profeſſion a ſeaman, and who was juſt then returned from an expedition

pedition up the ſtraits. By this time advice was received of ſixteen Dutch ſhips having joined the Engliſh fleet. Ruſſel took advantage of this incident, and, either from the contempt of French naval force, natural to an Engliſh officer, or in order to remove the only rival that ſtood in his way to the ſupreme command of the navy, gave a deciſive opinion, that Torrington, with his force, ought to fight the French. Nor were weighty arguments wanting to ſupport his opinion: the ſuperiority of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips and ſeamen over thoſe of France; the conſciouſneſs of that ſuperiority in the ſeamen, which always animates men to perform wonders; the diſgrace to the new government, if it ſhould yield the empire of the ſea in its own channel; the dread that the French fleet, if ſuffered to proceed on its courſe, would paſs through the channel, and enter the Thames, where they might ſpread devaſtation more widely than the Dutch had done twenty-three years before, and even ſhake the metropolis itſelf with their armament. If the Engliſh fleet ſhould beat that of France, a train of happy conſequences would enſue: it would remove the dread of foreign invaſion and domeſtic ſedition; it would ſave the ports of England, and the tranſports attending the king, the laſt of which were now cut off from all aid, except that which was to be found in the victory of the fleet, being expoſed to the fire-ſhips and frigates of the French. On the other hand, the conſequences which might be expected to follow a defeat, were not ſo alarming as thoſe from a victory were deciſively advantageous. As the combined fleet was on the Engliſh coaſts, the ſeamen might run the ſhips into harbours where they might be protected from the enemy. The poſture of affairs required a vigorous exertion; and the queen ſent poſitive orders to Torrington to engage.

The order arrived when the fleet was off Beachy-head on the coaſt of Suſſex. Torrington had kept in ſight of the French fleet ſome days; but their admiral,

convinced of the judicious diſpoſitions which the Engliſh had made, proceeded cautiouſly, and had not ventured to attack them. When the queen's orders arrived, Torrington quitted the coaſt, and advanced into the open ſea to attack the enemy on the thirtieth day of June at day-break; who formed in regular order to receive him. The combined fleet conſiſted of twenty-two Dutch ſhips and thirty-four Engliſh. The Dutch ſquadron, which compoſed the van, and was commanded by Admiral Evertzen, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour afterwards the blue diviſion of the Engliſh ſquadron was cloſely engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre under the command of Torrington in perſon, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; ſo that the Dutch were almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length the Engliſh admiral's diviſion drove between them and the French; and in that ſituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eaſtward. In the engagement three of the Dutch fleet were burnt, two of their admirals killed, and almoſt all the reſt of their ſhips totally diſabled. The French purſued their retreating foes as far as Rye, and an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, being ſtranded near Winchelſea, was ſet on fire and deſerted by the captain's command. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out of Bourne and Pevenſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry, but her commander defended her ſo vigorouſly, that they were obliged to deſiſt, and he afterwards found means to carry her in-

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to Holland. The Engliſh loſt in this unfortunate rencounter two of their ſhips, as many captains, and captains of marines, together with two hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch, who ſuſtained the weight of the action, were more roughly handled: beſides three ſhips that were ſunk in the fight, they were obliged to ſet fire to three more that were ſtranded on the coaſt of Suſſex. Their Rear-admirals Dick and Brakel were ſlain, with one captain, and a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen. Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that, among the beſt judges, the Count de Tourville was almoſt as much blamed for not making uſe of his victory, as the Earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat.

The Engliſh and Dutch retired to the mouth of the Thames, both to defend the city of London, and becauſe in the mouth of that river they could better defend themſelves againſt a force ſuperior to their own.

A general conſternation ſeized the nation upon this melancholy event; however, it tended to ſtrengthen the hands of government, by uniting the different factions in the common cauſe of ſelf-defence, and inflaming the averſion of the people to nonjurors and jacobites. Addreſſes were preſented to the queen, by the Corniſh tinners, the lieutenancy of Middleſex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy, of London, full of profeſſions of loyalty, and promiſes of ſupporting their majeſties, as their lawful ſovereigns, againſt all oppoſition. The queen, at this criſis, exhibited wonderful proofs of courage, activity, and diſcretion. She iſſued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a poſture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet; ſhe took meaſures for appeaſing the reſentment of the ſtates-general, who exclaimed againſt the Earl of Torrington, for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the tower; and commiſſioners were appointed to examine into his conduct. A

camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French ſeemed to threaten a deſcent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded the little village of Tinmouth. About one thouſand of their men landed without oppoſition, ſet fire to the place, and burnt a few coaſting veſſels; having atchieved this magnanimous exploit, they re-embarked, and returned to Breſt.

This miſcarriage of the combined fleet, joined to a victory which Louis had gained over the allies at Fleury, ſerved to ſpirit up the Iriſh mal-contents, and to retard the progreſs of William's arms, in that kingdom. Some advantages, however, were ſoon after obtained, which did great honour to all concerned. The day after the battle of the Boyne, King William ſent Brigadier La Meloniere, with five battalions of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe, to inveſt Drogheda. La Meloniere having ſummoned the place to ſurrender, the governor treated the meſſage with great contempt, and, at firſt, ſeemed determined to make a reſolute defence. But receiving notice from King William, "that, if his majeſty ſhould be obliged to bring his cannon before the place, he muſt expect no quarter;" the governor reflecting, that, as King James's army was defeated, it was impoſſible he could be relieved, thought it would be beſt to ſurrender the place upon the conditions offered him. He therefore marched out with the garriſon, conſiſting of three regiments and ſome odd companies, leaving their arms and ſtores behind them, and taking with them only their baggage.

On the 21ſt of July, Rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ſhips under his command for Kinſale, to intercept ſome French frigates, that were ſaid to be on that coaſt. Arriving at Waterford-river, with intention to execute this commiſſion, he received the agreeable news of General Kirke's having made himſelf maſter of the town of Waterford; but was at the ſame time informed, that Duncannon-caſtle,

which by its ſituation commanded the river, ſtill held out; and that the general, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, conſidering the importance of the place, and that no uſe could be made of the port of Waterford while the caſtle remained in the hands of the enemy, he ſent the general word on the 27th of July that he was ready to aſſiſt him, by ſending ſome frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could ſpare out of his ſquadron, under the protection of their guns. Accordingly the next day he ſent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two ſmall ſhips, to batter their caſtle; and, under their fire, landed between ſix and ſeven hundred men; all the boats of the fleet being employed in this ſervice. The caſtle all this time thundered upon them, tho' to little purpoſe; but when once General Bourk, who commanded there, ſaw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate; and marched out of the caſtle, with two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the Engliſh the fortreſs, which was furniſhed with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty.

King William in the mean time determined to lay ſiege to Limeric. The Earl of Portland and Brigadier Stewart, were ſent towards that place with nine hundred horſe, and twelve hundred foot. They advanced within cannon-ſhot of the town, with little oppoſition from the enemy. The king, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, Overkirk, Lieutenant-general Ginckle, and ſeveral other great officers, followed the above detachment, in the evening to take a view of the poſture of the enemy, and the avenues to the town. On the ninth, the whole army decamped at five in the morning, and made their approaches in excellent order, two hundred horſe and dragoons, with one thouſand choſen foot, leading the van. The country being full of hedges and ditches, the pioneers were immediately employed to cut down the firſt and

fill up the latter, which was no ſooner done, but the army advanced, and drove the enemy before them till they came to a narrow paſs between two bogs, within half a mile of the town, which was not above one hundred and fifty yards, and this beſides full of hedges and other incumbrances. In this paſs were lanes leading to the town, in the middlemoſt of which, being the broadeſt, ſtood the Iriſh horſe, and, to the right and left of which, the hedges were lined with muſqueteers. The detached party of Engliſh foot was upon the advance towards the center, the horſe a little to the right of them, the Danes to the left, and the Blue-Dutch, with ſeveral Engliſh regiments, upon the right. Whilſt theſe things were going on thus, the king ordered two field-pieces towards the left, where they could bear upon the enemy's horſe, and fired from thence with ſo good ſucceſs, that the enemy ſoon quitted that poſt. At the ſame time Colonel Earl led on his foot, who marched with ſo much bravery, though the enemy made a great fire through the hedge, that they forced them to retire, and continued this hedge-fight for two hours, driving the Iriſh under the very walls of the town, poſſeſſing themſelves of two advantageous poſts, called Cromwell's fort and the Old Chapel, and being hardly ſtopped there by the orders his majeſty ſent them. Thereupon the Iriſh plied our forces with their great guns, that killed ſome few men as they marched in, which the whole army did by five in the afternoon, and moſt of them encamped within cannon-ſhot. The Danes, according to their poſt, encamped to the left, where they found an old fort built by their anceſtors, of which they were not a little proud, and from whence they fired three or four field-pieces upon the Iriſh, that lay intrenched between them and the town. Orders were alſo given to plant four field-pieces on Cromwell's (alias Ireton's) fort, to play upon the town from the outworks. The army being poſted, the king ſent a trumpeter with a ſummons

mons to the town. A great many of the garriſon were for capitulating; but Monſieur Boiſſeleau, the governor, the Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Sarsfield, oppoſed it with a great deal of heat, ſaying, there were great diviſions, and even an actual inſurrection, in England, that the dauphin was landed there with a great army, and that the Prince of Orange would quickly be obliged to withdraw his forces thither. Hereupon Boiſſeleau ſent the trumpeter back with a letter directed to Sir Robert Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate, importing, "that he was ſurpriſed at the ſummons; and that he thought the beſt way to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, was by a vigorous defence of the town, which his maſter had entruſted him withal." About eight in the evening the king went to his camp, a little mile from the town, having been on horſeback from five in the morning, giving the neceſſary orders, and expoſing himſelf amidſt the greateſt dangers, which his royal highneſs the Prince of Denmark ſhared along with his majeſty. The cannon played on both ſides, and ſeveral of the enemy's ſhot fell near his majeſty's tent, or flew over it. The ſame evening a party of dragoons was ſent to the ford at Annaghberg, about two miles above the town, where ſix of the enemy's regiments of foot, three of horſe, and two of dragoons, were poſted on the other ſide of the river, with a breaſtwork to cover them, who all fired upon our men, but neither killed nor wounded one of them. The advantage the enemy had was ſuch, that the Engliſh expected to have met with great difficulties in paſſing the river, which is very rapid, and the bottom ſtony, but, in the night, the Iriſh abandoned their ſtation; ſo that Lieutenant-general Ginckle, who was commanded with a detachment to force his way over it, performed it the next morning, with about five thouſand horſe and foot, without any oppoſition. Two or three hours after, the king himſelf went over the Shannon, and poſted there three regiments of foot, with ſome pieces of cannon.

non. Neither were the beſieged idlle; for all this while they were raiſing forts between the aſſailants and the Iriſh town; one to the ſouth gate, and the other towards the eaſt, which proved very ſerviceable to them; though not ſo great a diſadvantage to the Engliſh, as the ſurpriſing their train of artillery, which was coming up to join the army. Some deſerters, and amongſt them a gunner, who got into Limeric, having given the enemy an account where the king's tent ſtood, and of thoſe guns and other things that were upon the road from Kilkenny, under a ſmall guard, they played very briſkly towards the king's tent, which his majeſty was at laſt prevailed with to remove. Nor was this all, for, on the 11th one Manus O'Brian, an honeſt country gentleman, came to the camp, and gave notice, that Sarsfield, with a body of five or ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, had paſſed the river Shannon in the night, nine miles above Limeric, and deſigned ſomething extraordinary. He was brought to the king, who, to prevent the worſt, gave orders that Sir John Lanier with five hundred horſe ſhould march to meet the train. But, wherever the fault lay, it was one or two in the morning before the party ſet out, and even then they advanced very ſlowly, till after they ſaw a great light in the air, and heard a ſtrange rumbling noiſe, which ſome juſtly conjectured was the train blown up. For the artillery having the day before marched beyond Cullen, to a little old ruinous caſtle called Ballenedy, not ſeven miles from the camp, Sarsfield lurked all that day in the mountains, and, having notice where and how the men that attended it lay, he took with him guides that brought him to the very ſpot, where he fell in among them, before they were aware, and cut ſeveral of them in pieces, with many of the waggoners, and ſome country people that were carrying proviſion to the camp. The noiſe of this ſlaughter having awakened the officer that commanded in chief, he ordered his men to get to their horſes

horſes that were a grazing, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; but moſt of them that endeavoured to fetch them up were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſhift for themſelves, ſo that there were in all about ſixty perſons killed. The convoy being thus totally routed, the Iriſh gathered the carriages, waggons, with the bread and ammunition, and as many of the guns as the ſhortneſs of time would permit them, into one heap, and having filled the guns with powder, and placed their mouths into the ground, that they might thereby certainly ſplit, they, at their going off, ſet fire to the heap, which was blown up into the air, with a moſt aſtoniſhing noiſe. The Iriſh got ſome booty on this occaſion, but took no priſoners; only a lieutenant of Colonel Earl's, being ſick in a houſe hard by, was ſtripped and brought to Sarsfield, who uſed him with civility, and told him, "if he had not ſucceeded in that enterpriſe, he would have gone for France." The party of horſe that was ſent from the camp came up in ſight of the enemy's rear, after the buſineſs was over; but, wheeling to the left to intercept them in their retreat over the Shannon, the Iriſh paſſed clear another way, and got ſafe into Limeric. The ſiege went on, the trenches were opened the 17th, and, ſome great guns being arrived from Waterford, a battery was raiſed below the fort, to the right of the trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the enemy's cannon. The ſame day, the Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-general, Major-generals Kirk and Tetteau, Sir Henry Bellaſis, brigadier, with ſeven battalions entered the trenches, advanced near three hundred paces, and made themſelves maſters of two redoubts. On the 18th the trenches were relieved by Lieut.-general Douglas, Lord Sidney, and Count Naſſau, major-generals, and Brigadier Stewart, who approached towards another ſtrong redoubt of the enemy's. Nor was his majeſty leſs in danger than the

reſt, for, in the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, he rode up to Cromwell's fort, and, as his horſe was juſt entering the gap, he was ſtaid by a gentleman that came to ſpeak him, when in the very moment there came a cannon-ball, that ſtruck in the very place, and covered the king with duſt. His majeſty took little notice of it, but, alighting, came and laid himſelf down on the fort. On the 19th, the trenches were relieved by Prince Wirtemberg, who advanced farther towards the ſaid redoubt, which the king ordered to be attacked the 20th. Lieutenant-general Douglas, the Lord Sidney, Count Naſſau, and Brigadier Stewart, being then again on the guard, and the ſignal given about two in the afternoon; the Engliſh, to the number of one hundred and fifty, beſides officers, and ſeveral reſolute French volunteers, attacked the fort with undaunted bravery, and, after an obſtinate fight, drove out the enemy, killing forty of their number. About half an hour after, the Iriſh made a great ſally, with near two thouſand horſe and foot, but were vigorouſly repulſed. The 21ſt the trenches were carried on and finiſhed, ſo as to hinder any more ſallies. The 22d, the beſiegers battered the enemy's high towers, from whence they fired into the trenches, and quite levelled them; and in the night threw ſeveral bombs and carcaſſes into the town, as they did the next day red-hot bullets, which ſet ſeveral houſes, and a magazine of hay, on fire. All the batteries being finiſhed the 24th, and thirty pieces of cannon mounted on them, the trenches by the 25th were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch; a breach made in the wall near St. John's gate, and part of the palliſadoes on the counterſcarp beaten down, by the 26th.

The engineers having aſſured the king that there was a ſufficient breach, and there being an impoſſibility to make it wider, for want of bullets, his majeſty reſolved to take the town by mines, and, in order to that, commanded the covered way, or counterſcarp, (which

(which here was almoſt the ſame with the ditch,) and two towers or forts that were on each ſide of the breach, and contiguous to the wall, to be attacked the next day, and that the men ſhould go no farther, but lodge themſelves there. Accordingly, Lieutenant-general Douglas detached Monſieur de la Barthe, a brave experienced French lieutenant-colonel, with nine companies of grenadiers, ſtrengthened by a hundred French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack; which was performed with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that the enemy were ſoon diſlodged from the covered way and the two forts. The aſſailants, purſuing their good fortune, entered the breach pell-mell with the runaways; and Monſieur la Barthe, with ſome bold adventurers, and above half the Earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, were actually on the ramparts, and others, ſtill more eager than the reſt, went into the very place. This action had been deciſive, if the engineers had made a lodgement in time, or if Count Solmes and Count Naſſau would have ſuffered the detachment, that were to ſecond the grenadiers to go farther than the counterſcarp; for the Iriſh were all running from the walls quite over the bridge into the Engliſh town, but, ſeeing that few of the Engliſh had entered the town, they rallied again, faced the aſſailants, and plied them ſo warmly, that ſeveral of them were killed, and many mortally wounded. Elevated with this ſucceſs, the Iriſh ventured upon the breach again, and the reſoluteneſs of their women was ſo great, that they inceſſantly pelted the Engliſh with ſtones, broken bottles, and all ſuch other inſtruments of deſtruction. The men for their part could not for ſhame be leſs valorous, inſomuch that after three hours unequal fighting, the Engliſh were forced to retire to their trenches. But this was not all, for, during the heat of this action, a Brandenburgh regiment being with great bravery got upon the enemy's black battery, the powder happened to take fire, which blew up a great many of them. Beſides,

ſides, though Colonel Cuts, who was commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg to march towards the Spur, at the ſouth gate, beat in the Iriſh that appeared on that ſide, yet he loſt ſeveral of his men, and was himſel wounded; for, he boldly advancing within half muſket-ſhot of the gate, all the men were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, who lay ſecure within the ſpur and the walls. The French proteſtants, the Dutch and the Danes, behaved themſelves very gallantly at their reſpective poſts; and the whole action, which laſted from three till ſeven, was very briſk every where, and coſt the beſiegers ſix hundred men killed upon the ſpot, and as many mortally wounded. This diſappointment, and the approaching ill weather, occaſioned the raiſing of the ſiege of Limeric; for on the 30th of Auguſt the heavy baggage and cannon were ſent away, and the next day the army decamped and marched off towards Clonmell. His majeſty embarked at Duncannon fort, with Prince George of Denmark, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, on the fifth of September, and arrived ſafe the next day in the King's-road near Briſtol, and on the ninth at Windſor.

The triumph of the Iriſh was only momentary. On King William's return to England, a council was held on the affairs of Ireland, whoſe great cities, and moſt of its convenient ports, ſtill adhered to the abdicated prince. The Earl of Marlborough propoſed to the board a plan for its effectual reduction: he obſerved, that our fleet was now at ſea, and that of the French returned to Breſt; which removed all apprehenſions of a deſcent upon England; he therefore propoſed that five thouſand troops ſhould be forthwith embarked on-board the fleet for Ireland. The king and council approved the meaſure, and the Earl of Marlborough was inveſted with the command of the troops; at the ſame time orders were diſpatched to the admirals to aſſemble the great ſhips at Chatham, and take on-board the land-forces.

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The city of Cork was a place of ſtrength, from the works which had been lately erected under the direction of French engineers; and it was at that time defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men. Marlborough, however, whoſe penetrating eye could mark a defect which lay concealed from common obſervation, had diſcovered a ſtation which rendered the works of little avail: he pledged himſelf to become maſter of that city, and of Kinſale, before winter, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced. The admirals hoiſted their flag on-board the Kent, a third-rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, appeared before Cork the 21ſt of September. Marlborough was joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg, at the head of four thouſand Danes; but that prince claimed an equality in command, although a younger officer in rank, and bringing with him only auxiliary forces, becauſe he was a ſovereign prince. The Engliſh general, with that politeneſs which was ever a ſtrong feature in his character, acquieſced in this arrogant claim. It was agreed, that each ſhould command every alternate day. Marlborough commanded firſt, when, to ſhew his ſuperiority over his rival, equally in politeneſs as in condeſcenſion, he gave out, for the word of the day, "Wirtemberg." The prince, highly gratified by this mark of reſpect, when he took the command, gave, for the word of the day, "Marlborough." This circumſtance, in itſelf a trifle, cemented a union between the two commanders, and removed all rivalſhip, except that which aroſe from their endeavours, who ſhould moſt contribute to the ſucceſs of the enterprize. The fleet ſtormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded both the harbour and the town. From the ſtation which Marlborough remarked, the troops made a breach in the walls, when, being protected by the fire of the batteries, and two bomb-veſſels, they forded the river up to the arm-pits to mount the breach. When the ſoldiers were ready to aſſail the walls, the

garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion, after the ſiege had continued only four days. In this attack the Duke of Grafton, who commanded a detachment of the fleet, received a wound in the ſhoulder, of which he died a few days after. Captain Matthew Tenant, who ſucceeded him in the command, was blown up in the Breda, in Cork harbour; Captain Crofts then took the command, which he retained throughout the expedition.

The day after the ſurrender of Cork, Marlborough ſent Brigadier Villers, with five hundred horſe, to ſummon Kinſale. The governor hereupon ſet fire to the old town, and retired to the two forts. On the 30th of September the ſiege began. Two days after, one of the forts was taken by ſtorm. The governor was then again ſummoned to ſurrender: he replied, "It would be time enough to talk of that a month hence." On the fifth of October the trenches were opened, and in ten days the counterſcarp being gained, every thing was adjuſted for a general aſſault. To prevent which, the garriſon, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, capitulated, and were conducted to Limeric. The victorious general returned to London on the 28th of the ſame month. The nation received him with acclamations; and it was remarked, that an Engliſh officer had done more in a month, than all the foreign generals had atchieved in two campaigns. Indeed, the Earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumſtances conſidered, was, beyond compariſon, the moſt ſucceſsful undertaking in the whole reign of King William; and the reduction of Cork was ſuch an inſtance of penetration as the king never forgot.

Ireland, however, was not thoroughly reduced till next year. William had committed the forces in that kingdom to General Ginkell; with orders to make an end of the war at any rate; and, to enable him to do this, his army was furniſhed with recruits and ſtores, and an unlimited pardon was tendered to all who would

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aſk the benefit of it. James ſent over St. Ruth, a French general, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars againſt the Proteſtants in France, and to him he gave the command of the Iriſh army; but he, being in want of money, ſtores, and proviſions, reſolved on a war of defence; he reinforced the garriſons of the ſtrong towns ſituated on the Shannon, and encamped his army at Athlone. Ginkell, having reduced Ballymore, advanced againſt the Iriſh army. Athlone conſiſted of two towns, one on the eaſtern the other on the weſtern ſhore of the Shannon. The town on the hither ſide of the river was taken ſword in hand; and notwithſtanding the enemy in their retreat had broken down an arch of the bridge, which rendered it impoſſible to paſs over it to the oppoſite ſide, yet the river was forded at a little diſtance, although it was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and ſtony, and the paſs guarded by a baſtion, erected for that purpoſe. Never was a more deſperate ſervice undertaken, nor was ever exploit performed with greater courage and intrepidity. They paſſed twenty a-breaſt in the face of the enemy, through an inceſſant ſhower of balls, bullets, and grenades. The Iriſh, appalled by ſuch boldneſs, quitted the town with the utmoſt precipitation; and, in an hour after the firſt man had entered the river, the place was entirely evacuated, and in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, who performed this deſperate enterpriſe with the loſs of no more than fifty men. St. Ruth was informed by expreſs that the Engliſh had entered the river, but he treated it as a chimera, ſaying, it was impoſſible they ſhould attempt to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thouſand piſtoles if they would attempt to force a paſſage. Being ſoon convinced of the truth of the information, he marched his army to the relief of the town, but, the cannon of their own works being turned againſt them, the night following he ſtruck his tents, and, marching ten miles, took poſt at Angrim, whither

Ginkell

Ginkell soon followed him. The Irish army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, the English were no more than eighteen thousand. On the 12th of July a desperate engagement was fought, where, notwithstanding the superiority of the Irish, both as to ground and numbers, their general, St. Ruth, being killed with a cannon-ball, the troops fled, and a dreadful carnage ensued, seven thousand being slain in the action and pursuit, whilst this decisive action was obtained by the English with the loss of only seven hundred men. The remains of the routed army retired to Limeric, the only place of strength in the kingdom which adhered to the cause of James. On the 25th of August, 1691, Ginkell sat down before the town. On the 4th of October following, the town capitulated. As it was the desire of government to conciliate as much as possible the affections of the Irish, very advantageous conditions were granted them. A general pardon was extended to all the Irish then in Ireland who had taken up arms in the cause of James, their estates and effects were restored to them, and their attainders and outlawries reversed; and all such as chose to quit their country and retire to France were freely permitted to do it, and themselves and their effects conveyed thither at the expence of the English government. No less than fourteen thousand Irish are said to have embraced this opportunity, quitting, with a savage fury and joy, their native land, and consenting to become, for ever, the subjects of a foreign power. Such was the substance of the famous treaty of Limeric, which the Irish Roman catholics consider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. A few days after the capitulation, a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with thirty thousand arms, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition, arrived upon the coast, to the great mortification of the vanquished Irish, who would have been enabled, by such assistance, to have protracted the war at least through another

ther ſummer. Baron Ginkell, on his return to England, received the thanks of the houſe of commons for his great ſervices, and was created Lord Agrim and Earl of Athlone, in commemoration of his ſervices, and of the places in which he had performed them. The capitulation of Limeric put an end to the Iriſh war, and made King William, at length, maſter of his three kingdoms.

It was now thought proper to make an enquiry into the cauſe of the miſcarriage of the grand fleet under Torrington, of which we have ſpoken in p. 351, &c. The honour of the nation had been thereby wounded, and a general clamour prevailed againſt the earl; and the queen had engaged her promiſe to the Dutch, that his conduct ſhould undergo a ſtrict enquiry. On the other hand, the earl had been very inſtrumental in bringing about the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had brought over many to believe, that, inſtead of his being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the reſentment of foreigners, merely for having preſerved the Engliſh fleet. The king gave orders, that the admiral ſhould be tried by a court-martial; but the friends of the earl maintained that he ought to be tried by his peers. It was objected, that, as the office of lord high-admiral was veſted by commiſſion in the lords of the admiralty, he could be tried by a court-martial ſitting under their authority; for, though it was allowed, that the Lord High-admiral of England might have iſſued a commiſſion for trying him, yet it was queſtioned, whether any ſuch authority was lodged in the commiſſioners of the admiralty; and, although ſome great lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to ſettle ſo important a point by authority of parliament. In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commiſſioners of the admiralty; upon which a court-martial was appointed to

try the Earl of Torrington, who was, at that time, indiſpoſed in the Tower. On the 10th of December the court aſſembled on-board the Kent frigate at Sheerneſs; Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being preſident. Torrington's defence was animated and ſtrong, ſuited to the pride of the man. He obſerved, that, in the ſeveral councils of war held before the fight, not only himſelf, but all who were preſent, thought it unadviſeable to engage the French. He deſcanted on the order given by the queen, which compelled him to fight, againſt the unanimous opinion of his officers, and without any probability of ſucceſs. He laid great ſtreſs on the inequality of the confederate and French fleets; the former conſiſting but of fifty-ſix, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He aſſerted, that the Dutch were deſtroyed by their own raſhneſs; and that, if he had ſuſtained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet muſt have been ſurrounded, in the ſame manner as that diviſion of it was. It having been inſinuated, that he had failed in ſupporting the Dutch, to gratify a pique which he had againſt them, he dwelt with great energy on that charge, and pleaded, that his conduct had ſaved the Engliſh fleet; and that he hoped an Engliſh court-martial would not ſacrifice him to Dutch reſentment. He reminded his judges of the wounds they had ſeen him receive: he pointed to the ſocket of the eye which he had loſt in the cauſe of his country. His lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted by the court. The king however diſmiſſed him his ſervice, and would never again admit him to his preſence. Still farther to expreſs his diſguſt, he advanced Admiral Ruſſel, his rival and enemy, to the command of the fleet.

In the beginning of the year 1692, an action of unexampled barbarity diſgraced the government of William in Scotland. In the preceding Auguſt, in conſequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation

clamation of indemnity had been iſſued to ſuch inſurgents as ſhould take the oaths to the king and queen, on or before the laſt day of December. The chiefs of the few tribes who had been in arms for James complied ſoon after with the proclamation: but Macdonald of Glenco failed in ſubmitting within the limited time; more, however, from accident than deſign. In the end of December he came to Col. Hill, who commanded the garriſon in fort William, to take the oaths of allegiance to the government. Hill having furniſhed Macdonald with a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, ſheriff of the county of Argyle, directed him to repair immediately to Inverary, to make his ſubmiſſion in a legal manner before that magiſtrate. The way to Inverary lay through almoſt impaſſable mountains: the ſeaſon was extremely rigorous, and the whole country covered with a deep ſnow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths before the limited time ſhould expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own houſe, he would not ſtop to viſit his family. After various obſtructions, he arrived at Inverary. The time was elapſed, and the ſheriff heſitated to receive his ſubmiſſion; but Macdonald prevailed on him by his importunities, and even tears. Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, attended King William as ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland. He took advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time preſcribed, and procured from the king a warrant of military execution againſt him and his whole tribe. As a mark of his own eagerneſs, or to ſave Dalrymple, William ſigned the warrant, both above and below, with his own hand. The ſecretary, in letters expreſſive of a brutal ferocity of mind, urged the officers who commanded in the Highlands to execute their orders with the utmoſt rigour. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in Argyle's regiment, and two ſubalterns, were ordered with a hundred and twenty men to repair to Glenco on the firſt of February. Campbell, being

uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with all manner of friendſhip and hoſpitality. The men were treated in the houſes of his tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment. Till the 13th of the month the troops lived in good humour and familiarity with the people. The officers on the very night of the maſſacre paſſed the evening and played at cards at Macdonald's houſe. In the night, Lieutenant Linſay, with a party of ſoldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door. He was inſtantly admitted. Macdonald, as he was riſing to receive his gueſt, was ſhot dead behind his back with two bullets. His wife had already put on her clothes; but ſhe was ſtripped naked by the ſoldiers, who tore the rings off her fingers with their teeth. The ſlaughter was become general. To prevent the pity of the ſoldiers to their hoſts, their quarters had been changed the night before. Neither age nor infirmity was ſpared. Some women, in defending their children, were killed. Boys, imploring mercy, were ſhot by officers on whoſe knees they hung. In one place, nine perſons, as they ſat enjoying themſelves at table, were ſhot dead by the ſoldiers. At Inveriggen, in Campbell's own quarters, nine men were firſt bound by the ſoldiers, and then ſhot at intervals, one by one. Near forty perſons were maſſacred by the troops. Several who fled to the mountains periſhed by famine and the inclemency of the ſeaſon. Thoſe who eſcaped owed their lives to a tempeſtuous night. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march with four hundred men, to guard all the paſſes from the valley of Glenco; but was obliged to ſtop by the ſeverity of the weather, which proved the ſafety of the unfortunate tribe. He entered the valley next day; laid all the houſes in aſhes; and carried away all the cattle and ſpoil, which were divided among the officers and ſoldiers.

It

It can ſcarcely be imagined that a maſſacre attended with ſuch circumſtances of treachery and breach of the laws of hoſpitality, could paſs without ſome animadverſion; though the expreſſions of Cunningham, a writer very partial to the character of King William, ſeem to account it a fault that it ſhould ever have been inquired into. "Mr. James Johnſtone, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate (ſays he), from motives of revenge, cauſed the affair of Glenco to be laid before parliament. This, being ſomewhat diſingenuouſly managed, was the occaſion of much trouble to many people. The Earl of Breadalbane was committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh: but the Lord Viſcount Stair, who lay under ſome ſuſpicion on that account, in a very artful ſpeech, endeavoured to reſolve the whole matter into a miſapprehenſion of dates; which, he alleged, had led both the actor in the ſlaughter complained of, and thoſe who now accuſed him, into miſtakes. In concluſion he affirmed, that neither the king nor any other perſon was to be blamed, ſave only the miſled captain, who did not rightly underſtand the orders that had been given him." The moſt diſgraceful circumſtances of the maſſacre are by the ſame author concealed; as he only tells us, that "it unhappily fell out, that the whole clan of Glenco, being ſomewhat too late in making their ſubmiſſion to King William, were put to the ſword by the hands and orders of Captain Campbell; which gave great offence to the king. It is certain the king had cauſe of reſentment againſt ſome of his courtiers on account of this foul action; but he thought fit not to queſtion them for it till he could ſettle himſelf more firmly on the throne."

The total reduction of Ireland, and the diſperſion and extermination of the Highland chieftains who favoured his cauſe, did not entirely put an end to the hopes of James. His chief expectations next were founded on a conſpiracy among his Engliſh adherents, and in the ſuccours promiſed him by the French king.

A plot was firſt formed in Scotland by Sir James Montgomery; a perſon who, from being an adherent to William, now turned againſt him; but, as the project was ill contrived, ſo it was as lightly diſcovered by the inſtigator. To this another ſucceeded, which ſeemed to threaten more ſerious conſequences, as it was managed by the whig party, who were the moſt formidable in the ſtate. A number of theſe joined themſelves to the tories, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They aſſembled together: and the reſult of their deliberation was, that the reſtoration of James was to be effected entirely by foreign forces; that he ſhould ſail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thouſand Swedes; who, becauſe they were of the proteſtant religion, would, it was thought, remove a part of the odium which attended an invaſion by foreigners: it was concerted that aſſiſtance ſhould at the ſame time be ſent from France, and that full liberty of conſcience ſhould be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to loſe no time, it was reſolved to ſend over to France two truſty perſons to conſult with the baniſhed monarch: and Lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton were the two perſons appointed for this embaſſy. Both of them, however, were ſeized when they leaſt expected it, by order of Lord Caermarthen. Both were condemned; and Aſhton was executed without making any confeſſion; but Lord Preſton had not the ſame reſolution. Upon an offer of pardon, he diſcovered a great number of aſſociates; among whom the Duke of Ormond, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Clarendon, were foremoſt.

The French at laſt became ſenſible of their bad policy in not having better ſupported the cauſe of James, and therefore reſolved to make a deſcent upon England in his favour. In purſuance of this ſcheme, the French king ſupplied James with an army conſiſting of a body of French troops, ſome Engliſh and Scots refugees, and the Iriſh regiments, which had been tranſported into

into France from Limeric, and were now become excellent ſoldiers by long diſcipline and ſevere duty. This army was aſſembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and commanded by King James in perſon. More than three hundred tranſports were provided for landing it on the oppoſite coaſt; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of ſixty-three ſhips of the line, was appointed to favour the deſcent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in caſe they ſhould oppoſe him; ſo that every thing promiſed the baniſhed king a change of fortune.

Theſe deſigns were not long unknown to William, and immediately every ſtep was taken to oppoſe and counteract them. The naval force of England and Holland was collected in their reſpective ports, and cruiſers ſent out to obſerve every motion made in thoſe of France. All the ſhips at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones, of the largeſt ſize, were built, and with ſo much diſpatch, that one of them, of one hundred and ſix guns, went to ſea the tenth day after ſhe was launched. The command of both navies was committed to Admiral Ruſſel.

Thus, during the ſpring, the three greateſt maritime powers of the world exerted every nerve of naval ſtrength, and the reſt of Europe ſtood amazed, and anxiouſly expected the event of an expedition, which probably would determine, in whoſe hands the dominion of the ſea ſhould be afterwards lodged.

Several Engliſh regiments were recalled from Flanders, whilſt others, that had been ordered there, were ſtopped on their march. The militia was raiſed all over the kingdom; many ſuſpected perſons were ſecured, proclamations iſſued againſt others, and all papiſts removed ten miles from London: a camp was marked out between Petersfield and Portſmouth: orders were given to drive the cattle fifteen miles up the country, upon the ſight of a French fleet: Scotland was put into the beſt ſtate of defence. Ireland alone

was

was left to its fate, becauſe it was not thought adviſeable to take any ſteps for diſarming the natives, or give any other ſigns of doubt about their loyalty.

The conduct of Ruſſel, in this ſeaſon of intrigue, appeared full of duplicity; nor can it be ſettled, even at this diſtance of time, whether he really entered into the views of James; or, by pretending an attachment to him, meant the more effectually to ſerve the reigning prince, by diſcloſing the deſigns that were forming againſt him; or that, by keeping fair with both parties, he meant to ſerve himſelf, whichever ſhould be ſucceſsful. In the correſpondence which he held with James, he entreated him to prevent the two fleets of England and France from meeting, and frankly declared, that, as an officer and an Engliſhman, it behoved him to fire upon the firſt French ſhip that came in his way, even though he ſhould ſee that prince himſelf upon the quarter deck. One circumſtance is extremely remarkable in the tranſactions which we are now relating, which is, that, whilſt James diſtruſted the ſincerity of the men on whoſe aſſurances he proceeded, William employed ſome, of whoſe inſincerity he had intelligence. That the king had very good intelligence of his father-in-law's affairs is plain, from his behaviour to Lord Godolphin after the deſigns of France had been fruſtrated. He upbraided that nobleman with correſponding with the late king; who peremptorily denied it: the king thereupon put a letter into his hand which Godolphin had written to James, and which had been ſtolen from that prince's cabinet; deſiring him, at the ſame time, to reflect on the treachery of thoſe in whom he confided, and the moderation of him he meant to betray. This generous conduct ought to have attached the miniſter ever after to his maſter. Although Marlborough, who had been before diſmiſſed from his employments, was, about this time, ſent to the tower, yet, not long after, he was reſtored to his poſts, and entruſted with very important ſervices.

Louis

Louis, elated with the diſſentions which prevailed in England, and which were repreſented to him as far more favourable to his deſigns than they really were, ſent orders to Count Tourville, who had the command of the grand fleet at Breſt, to ſail immediately, before he was joined by the Toulon ſquadron, under Count d'Eſtrée, and fight the Engliſh fleet, in order to clear the way for the tranſports which were to follow him. There were then two conſiderable Engliſh ſquadrons at ſea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, who was employed to eſcort a fleet of merchantmen home from the Mediterranean; the other under Rear-admiral Carter, which lay between the Iſle of Jerſey and the French coaſt. The Dutch fleet was ſtill in harbour, and Ruſſel, with the great body of the Engliſh fleet, ſtill lay in the river. Tourville made repeated efforts to ſail out of Breſt, but was as often driven back. Ruſſel was indefatigable in forming a junction of the whole ſtrength of both ſtates. He therefore plyed it down through the ſands with a very ſcanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were againſt hazarding ſo great a fleet in ſo dangerous an attempt; and yet, to this bold ſtroke of the admiral, was owing all his following ſucceſs. On the 8th of May the fleet anchored ſafe off Rye; proceeding from thence to St. Helen's, he was there joined, on the 13th, by Sir Ralph Delaval and Rear-admiral Carter, and their ſquadrons. The Dutch fleet coming up ſoon after, the important junction was happily effected, whereupon James's agents in England ſent notice of this event to the French court, and orders were diſpatched from Paris to countermand Tourville's ſailing. But theſe orders came too late; the fleet had already quitted the harbour, and were ſtretched out to ſea.

The combined fleets of England and Holland formed a naval force greater than had ever covered the ocean; but it was much ſuſpected in England, that ſe-

veral of the officers were disaffected, and meant to betray the cause which they professed to defend. The queen, who was then regent, directed Lord Nottingham to write to the admiral to assure him, that the queen would change none of her officers, and that she imputed the reports that had been made against them to the contrivance of her enemies and of theirs. Upon this the flag-officers and captains signed a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on-board the Britannia at St. Helen's, May 15, which was presented by the lords of the admiralty to the queen, and inserted in the Gazette, with this judicious and gracious answer. "I always had such an opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come to satisfy others."

On the 18th of May the combined fleets sailed. The French fleet, of about fifty ships of the line, was at that time at sea in quest of the English, and was descried next day, at three o'clock in the morning, about seven leagues from Barfleur. As the French were many leagues to the windward, they might easily have avoided an engagement; and all the flag-officers advised Tourville to retire: but he rushed on. Russel's motions filled him for some time with hopes: for Russel's fleet was not in order until eight o'clock; he lay by with his fore top-sail to the mast until twelve o'clock, and allowed the enemy to come within half a musket-shot of him, before he flung out the bloody flag. During this interval, the bold advance of Tourville, with so unequal a force, together with the tardiness of Russel, raised doubts and anxieties in many of the English captains: they looked round to see when their own officers were to rise up against them, or when the ships next to theirs were to quit the line, and sail over to their enemies.

Tourville, who was in the Royal Sun, carrying one hundred and four guns, the finest ship in Europe, passing all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Russel, and bore down upon him.

him. But, by the reception which he got, he was ſoon convinced of his miſtake, in thinking, that an Engliſh admiral could, in conſideration of any intereſt upon earth, ſtrike to a French one. Yet, though conſcious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was aſhamed to abandon a ſituation, which his officers had in vain adviſed him to avoid. And the reſt of the admirals, and the captains, diſdaining to abandon their head, joined in the action as faſt as they came up, and maintained it, not ſo much hoping to gain honour, as ſtriving to loſe as little as they could. The engagement between the two admirals ſhips laſted an hour and a half, and then Tourville was towed off, being obliged to retire by the damage which he had ſuſtained in his rigging; but five French ſhips inſtantly cloſed in, and ſaved him. The battle, in the mean time, went on, in different parts, with uncertain ſucceſs, from the vaſt number of the ſhips engaged, which ſometimes gave aid to the diſtreſſed, and, at other times, ſnatched victory from thoſe who thought they were ſure of it. Alemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might eſcape, attempted in vain to obey; and a thick fog, at four o'clock in the afternoon, ſeparated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours the fog cleared up. It was then obſerved, that Tourville, inſtead of repairing his rigging, had withdrawn to the rear, and the French line was broke in many other places. Ruſſel, certain that Tourville would not have retired unleſs it had been reſolved that his fleet was to fly, made a ſignal to chace from all quarters, without any regard to order. In one of the engagements during this chace, Rear-admiral Carter was killed, giving orders, with his laſt breath, to the officer next in command, to fight the ſhip as long as ſhe could ſwim: a proof either that his correſpondence with James had been maintained with a view to deceive him, or that the laſt paſſion in an Engliſhman's breaſt

is the love of his country. The running engagement of the afternoon was, like the regular one of the forenoon, interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by a calm, and in the end it was closed by darkness.

During the night, the two fleets off the shallow coast of France anchored close to each other; yet the impetuosity of some English officers carried their ships through the French fleet; and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, with his division, had got between Tourville's squadron and the rest of the French fleet: so that the ships of the three nations lay intermingled with each other during the night, waiting for the morning with impatience, uncertain whether they were amongst friends or foes, and judging of their distances from other ships, only by the signals of distress which they heard, or the flames of the ships which were on fire.

The arrival of the morning brought on a renewal of the chace. But the French fleet was now reduced to thirty-four ships; four of which had taken fire in the engagement, being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized by no engagement, but by a spectacle far more important, that of the English fleet driving the French one along their own coasts, and in the sight of innumerable crouds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French, in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of sixteen ships, which were coming to join them: but these ships, perceiving the fate of their friends, turned to flight, and shared in that disgrace which they could not avert. Fogs, calms, tides, and the veering of winds, saved France from the vengeance of England and Holland for one day.

Upon the third day, Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, with his two seconds, one of ninety, and the other of eighty-four, guns, together with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast, near Cherburg, and eighteen more of the largest ships followed their example, near La Hogue; the rest, being more fortunate, drove through the race of Alderney. Russel ordered

ordered the main body of the fleet, under Sir John Aſhby, to purſue that of the enemy; left Sir Ralph Delaval, with one ſquadron, to deſtroy the ſhips at Cherbourg; and ſtationed himſelf, with another, to confine thoſe which were at La Hogue. As the art of ſailing was not ſo much improved then as it has been ſince, Aſhby durſt not purſue enemies who pointed him the way through a paſſage, which another admiral, with a ſquadron and a great fleet of tranſports, went through, in our time, with eaſe, and without the flying ſails of an enemy to direct him. But Delaval, next day, burnt the three ſhips, together with the frigates, at Cherbourg.

And now, upon the fifth day, ſome of Delaval's ſhips having advanced, and ſome of Aſhby's having returned to join Ruſſel's ſquadron, Ruſſel made preparations to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips at La Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having, the day before, in the hurry and confuſion, made their eſcape eaſtward. The French had employed all the interval of time, which Ruſſel had left them ſince their ſhips had taken refuge, in making proviſions to defend them. The ſhips themſelves were drawn up as far upon the ſhallows as tides and cables could bring them: they were covered with the forts De Liſſet and De La Hogue; platforms were raiſed on ſhore, and planted with all the artillery of the army; numbers of chaloups, filled with officers and men, lined the ſhoals; behind ſtood all the French army ready drawn up; and, upon a height between the ſhips and the army, King James, the Duke of Berwick, Mareſchal Bellefonde, Tourville, and other great land and ſea officers, placed themſelves to behold the action, and to give their orders. All precautions were taken, except one which James had ſuggeſted, and which was the beſt: for, when he ſaw the French ſeamen diſheartened by defeat, flight, purſuit, and the neceſſity of taking refuge, he foretold, that no good could be expected from them; and adviſed, but in vain, that a number of the regiments,

ments, and of the artillery-men, ſhould be put on-boerd the ſhips, where they could fight with the ſame ſteadineſs as if they had been in land-caſtles, becauſe the ſhips were aground.

Ruſſel gave the charge of the attack to Vice-admiral Rooke: who advanced with ſeveral men of war, frigates, and fire-ſhips, together with all the boats of the fleet. But he ſoon found, that the men of war could not get within reach; that the frigates could only advance ſo far as to cover the attack; and that the whole ſervice depended upon the boats. In this ſituation he gave only a general order for the boats to advance, ſurround the enemy's ſhips, and board and burn where beſt they could; leaving all the reſt to the ſpirit of the ſeamen. The ſeamen ſtrove with each other whoſe barge ſhould be foremoſt, and ſingled out the particular ſhips they were to attack, according to their fancy, and ſometimes as a merry mood directed them. They made uſe of their oars alone as they advanced, without firing upon the platforms, the chaloups, or the veſſels aground: ſo ſoon as they got to the ſides of the ſhips, throwing away their muſquets, they gave three huzzas, and ſcrambled up the heights above them, with their cutlaſſes in their hands, and many without arms at all. Some cut the rigging; others ſet fire to the veſſel; others pointed out the guns of the ſhips againſt their own chaloups, platforms, and forts. Few aſſaulted the mariners within, becauſe they accounted the ſhips to be their only foes. From this circumſtance, the French mariners often went off undiſturbed in their boats, from one ſide of a French ſhip, while the Engliſh had entered, and were deſtroying it upon the other. But at laſt, tired with doing miſchief in detail, the aſſailants all joined together to burn the enemies ſhips; and, having ſet fire to them, deſcended, with the ſame huzzas with which they had boarded. In this way they burnt ſix the firſt day. The reſt, together with a great number of tranſports and ammunition

nition ships, shared the same fate the next morning; the enemies making little resistance, because they saw it was fruitless. Few prisoners were taken; for the officers were possessed with the idea of the seamen, that the destruction of the ships was their only object; and some of them even made apologies to government for having incumbered themselves with prisoners.

Admiral Russel had ninety-nine ships of the line under his command, and Count Tourville but sixty-three, many of which were detached at the time of the action; so that not more than forty-four are supposed to have borne down to engage. Although the confederate fleet was considerably stronger than the French, yet the latter were, in fact, beaten by an inferior number; for the calm, and haziness of the weather, prevented many of the Dutch ships, and of the blue squadron, from taking a part in the action: so that it is highly probable, if the weather had been clear, and a brisk gale of wind had blown, not one French ship would have escaped. As it was, the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. Besides the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French lost another ship of one hundred guns; one of ninety, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, seventy-six, or seventy-eight, four of sixty, one of fifty-four, and one of fifty-eight: in all, fifteen ships of the line.

This engagement, which happened on the 21st of May 1692, put a final period to the hopes of James. No farther attempts were made in his favour, except some plots to assassinate King William, which ended only in the destruction of those who formed them. But it was never thoroughly proved that James countenanced these plots in the least; it rather appears, that in all cases he expressed the utmost abhorrence of such attempts. In 1697, the Abbé de Polignac, ambassador from France in Poland, wrote to his master, that thoughts were entertained of the late King of Britain in the new election which happened on the death of

John Sobieski king of Poland; and that James had been already named by some of the diets as his successor. Louis was eager to seize an opportunity of ridding himself with honour of a prince whose pretensions he could no longer support. The friends of James were also sanguine for the project; but he himself refused it. He told them, that "he would ever retain a grateful remembrance of his friends in Poland. That, however, he would not accept of the crown, had it actually been offered; much less would he endeavour to obtain by solicitation any crown which was not actually his due. That his acceptance of any other sceptre would amount to an abdication indeed of that which he deemed his right. That therefore he was resolved to remain in his present forlorn condition, possessing less hopes than ever of being restored, rather than to do the least act of prejudice to his family." The same year, at an interview between King William and Louis XIV. it was proposed that the Prince of Wales (James's son) should succeed to the throne of England after the death of William. The king with little hesitation agreed to this request. He even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his successor to the throne. Even this proposal was rejected by James. He told the King of France, that, though he could suffer with patience the usurpation of his nephew upon his right, he would never permit his own son to be guilty of the same injustice. He urged, that, should the son reign in his father's lifetime, that circumstance would amount to a formal renunciation. That the Prince of Wales, by succeeding to the Prince of Orange, would yield his sole right, which was that of his father, &c. From this time James lost every hope of being restored to the throne, and resigned himself entirely to the austerities of religious enthusiasm. His constitution, though vigorous and athletic, had for some time begun to yield to the infirmities of age, and

to

to that melancholy which ſuperſtition as well as his uncommon misfortunes had impreſſed on his mind.

When the deſtruction of the French men of war at La Hogue was fully accompliſhed, and the reſt of the fleet had eſcaped either to the eaſtward or the weſtward, Admiral Ruſſel brought the grand fleet back to St. Helen's, to repair the damage it had ſuſtained; but, at the ſame time, he left Sir John Aſhby, with twelve Engliſh ſhips of war, and three fire-ſhips, in conjunction with a Dutch ſquadron of like force, commanded by Vice-admiral Callemberg, to proceed to Havre-de-Grace, and attempt the deſtruction of ſuch French ſhips as had taken ſhelter there. But they found them too well ſecured to give them any annoyance; and ſuch tempeſtuous weather preſently ſucceeded the action, as diſabled the ſhips from undertaking any thing. The motive for Ruſſel's immediate return into port was, to furniſh the fleet with freſh ſupplies of ammunition and proviſion, and to take on-board a number of troops which had been marched down to the ſea-ſhore, in order to make a deſcent on the coaſt of France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and diſtract the enemy in their own dominions. Soon after his return he was informed, by a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, that no plan was abſolutely formed for the deſtination of the troops, but that it was left to be ſettled by a general council of land and ſea officers, when the fleet and the tranſports ſhould be joined. A council of land and ſea officers being held on-board the Breda, to deliberate on this deſign, it was unanimouſly agreed, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to put it in execution. Notwithſtanding, the admiral detached Sir John Aſhby with a ſquadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their paſſage from St. Maloes to Breſt, while he himſelf ſet ſail for La Hogue with the reſt of the fleet and tranſports; but, in a few days, the wind ſhifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's. The queen

hereupon ſent the Marquis of Carmarthen, lord-preſident of the council, the Earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Nottingham, and Rocheſter, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to enquire into the cauſe of their return, and to expedite another embarkation. The admiral clearly proved the impracticability of making a deſcent on the coaſt of France at that ſeaſon of the year; the deſign was therefore laid aſide, and the troops were tranſported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raiſed by this armament, the deeper they felt their diſappointment. The people complained that they were plundered and abuſed. The Dutch ſcrupled not to exclaim againſt the treachery of the king's counſellors, and to affirm, that every thing tranſacted at London was ſo ſpeedily communicated to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any ſucceſs from deſigns concerted there. Some politicians, indeed, thought they ſaw the intention of the armament fully anſwered, and that King William only meant thereby to alarm the French, and oblige them to keep great bodies of men conſtantly along their coaſts, and to be at a vaſt expence in watching the motions of this ſmall body of troops, thereby reducing the force which they employed in Flanders. Another cauſe of national diſcontent proceeded from the numerous captures which were made of the Engliſh merchant-ſhips by French privateers; and, what tended much to aggravate theſe loſſes, the trade had ſuffered much more after the defeat of the French fleet of La Hogue, than when they were rivals on the ocean; which aroſe from the ſeamen being diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and ſerving on-board privateers, which, being diſperſed over different parts of the channel, made prize of whatever merchantmen came in their way. At the ſame time the grand fleet of England being collected together, the admiralty were not able to ſend out frigates to cruiſe at proper ſtations, for the protection of trade, or to provide it with proper convoys.

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The moſt important events on the continent, during the campaign of 1692, muſt now be ſpoken of. Tho' the Duke of Bavaria, who, through William's influence, was this year made governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, had put thoſe provinces in a far better ſtate than formerly, yet that did not hinder the King of France from attempting the ſiege of Namur, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all thoſe parts, both by its advantageous ſituation on the confluence of the Sambre and the Maes, and its good fortifications, but principally a caſtle built upon a hill in an angle formed by thoſe two rivers. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty inveſted the town in perſon, on the 25th day of May, opened the trenches on the 29th, and purſued the ſiege with ſo much vigour and diligence, that in four days he made himſelf maſter of all the out-works next St. Nicholas's gate. The garriſon, ſeeing it was in vain to withſtand an army encouraged by the preſence of their ſovereign, ſurrendered the city on the fifth of June upon articles, and retired into the caſtle. Upon the news of this ſiege, King William, with the confederate army under his command, decamped from Anderleck, on the 27th of May, marched to Diegom, the next day towards Louvain, and pitched his camp near Bethlem-abbey; from whence he continued his march towards Namur, on the third of June. But before his majeſty removed, he gave the enemy notice of his late victory at ſea, by a treble diſcharge of a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, which were anſwered by as many vollies of ſmall ſhot, from the two lines of the army. The Duke of Luxemburgh, who covered the ſiege of Namur with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, upon information that the King of England moved towards the Mehaigne, marched that way likewiſe; and on the eighth of June the two armies, which were almoſt equal as to number, (the confederates not exceeding ſeventy-five thouſand men) advanced in ſight of one another, the river only remaining between

them. King William poſſeſſed himſelf of all the poſts upon the Mehaigne, on his ſide; as Luxemburgh did of two villages ſurrounded with ſtrong hedges and thickets on the oppoſite bank. But the confederates had ſuch an entire command of the river by their batteries, that the ſame evening his majeſty ordered the pontons to be laid over it, in order to attack it the next day. All things were in a readineſs for an engagement, but the ſame night, and the ſucceeding days, the weather proved ſo rainy, that a ſtop was put to the king's enterpriſe. The moſt remarkable action before the caſtle of Namur, was the taking of fort William, which was raiſed by that great engineer Colonel Cohorn, and defended by himſelf. The King of France, being reſolved to carry this work at any rate, cauſed it to be aſſaulted on the 21ſt of June; and, though all the efforts of his men proved unſucceſsful, yet they returned to the ſtorm the next day. The beſieged, animated by their commander, made an incredible reſiſtance, repulſing twice the aſſailants with great ſlaughter; but at length the latter, with redoubled numbers, made themſelves maſters of the covered way, and cut off the communication with the caſtle. M. Cohorn being dangerouſly wounded, the garriſon, who thought themſelves no longer in a condition to hold out, deſired to capitulate; reſerving only ſo much time to themſelves, as to ſend to the Prince of Barbanſon, governor of the old caſtle, to give him notice of their reſolution, which he readily allowed; and thereupon fort William, which from this time was called fort Cohorn, was delivered up to the French. The conſequence of this was the ſurrender of the caſtle of Namur on the firſt of July.

When the caſtle of Namur was ſurrendered, King William lay encamped at Melle, where he formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Mons, which the French took care to diſappoint. From Melle his majeſty marched his army to Genap, thence to Noſtredame-de-hall, and, on the firſt of Auguſt, over the river Senne, where he was joined

joined by the Hanover troops to the number of eight thouſand men.---On the other hand, the King of France, contenting himſelf with the glory of having taken Namur, in ſight of the confederate army, left the command of his forces to Luxemburgh, who pitched his camp in an advantageous poſt, covered by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steenkirk, where his Britannic majeſty reſolved to attack him, upon the information of ſome perſons that were thought to underſtand the nature of the ground. Accordingly, on Sunday the third of Auguſt, the army marched early in the morning, the heavy baggage being ordered to repaſs the Senne at Hall. There were ſeveral defiles to paſs, and the ways to be made, which made it a tedious march: but, however, about ten o'clock, the Prince of Wirtemberg, with the vanguard, which conſiſted of four battalions of Engliſh foot, two of Danes, and a detachment of Churchill's brigade, advanced towards the enemy, and fell upon them with ſo much vigour, that he drove them from hedge to hedge, poſted himſelf in the wood that fronted the right wing of their army, and erected two batteries of cannon on little eminences, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the wood. While theſe batteries were playing upon the enemy, the confederate army marched up to the head of the defile, (about half an Engliſh mile from the wood,) where it opened in a little plain, not above half a league over, which terminated upon the right of the wood; and upon ſeveral rows of high trees, planted in great order. Upon the right of this plain, there was a farm which ſoon after the engagement was ſet on fire by the enemy, to cover, by the ſmoke, ſeveral of their battalions that were ordered this way. From the head of the defile, upon the left of the plain, there was a deep hollow way with high trees and hedges upon the banks of it, which reached as far as the wood where the vanguard was poſted, and where it branched itſelf into two other deep ways. When the confederate army

was come up to the head of these defiles, and just entering into the small plain, they were ordered to halt, except the English life-guards, and horse and dragoons, and Lord Cuts's, Lieutenant-general Mackey's, Sir Charles Graham's, and the Earl of Angus's, regiments, which, being interlined with the horse, were commanded at the same time to the right skirts of the wood; whilst the Prince of Hesse's, Colonel Lowther's, and the Earl of Leven's, regiments, were also intermixed with the left wing of horse, and posted upon the outside of the wood. Things being thus disposed, and the army continuing in their halt, Prince Wirtemberg, after he had cannonaded for above two hours, began the attack with the Danes upon the right, which was immediately followed by the other four English regiments that composed the vanguard, and seconded by Cuts's, Mackey's, Angus's, Graham's, Lowther's, the Prince of Hesse's, and Leven's, regiments.

Never was more terrible, and at the same time more regular, firing heard; for during the space of two hours it seemed to be continual claps of thunder. The vanguard behaved themselves with so much bravery and resolution, that, though they received the charge of several battalions of the enemies, one after another, yet they drove them beyond one of their batteries of seven pieces of cannon, of which the Danes and the second battalion of the regiment of English guards possessed themselves, and which Colonel Wachop, who commanded the English, would have sent away, had not the French cut off the traces, and carried away the horses. Sir Robert Douglas, with his first battalion, charged several of the enemy's, and beat them from three several hedges, and made himself master of the fourth, when, going through a gap to get on the other side, he was unfortunately killed upon the spot. All the other regiments behaved with equal bravery, firing muzzle to muzzle through the hedges, they on one side, and the enemy on the other.

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The king being made ſenſible of the difficulties the vanguard had to encounter, by one of Prince Wirtemberg's aids-de-camp, who had already ſent two meſſengers to Count Solmes to no purpoſe, his majeſty diſpatched away Count Paulin, one of his aids-de-camp, with poſitive orders to Count Solmes, who commanded the main body, to ſend more foot to the prince's aſſiſtance; but Solmes, who was ever envious of the Engliſh, and who beſides had a particular jealouſy of Wirtemberg's commanding the attack, an honour which he would have had himſelf, inſtead of obeying his majeſty's commands, ordered the horſe to march, and the foot to halt: which proved the loſs of the day. For the ground was ſo ſtrait, and the enemy had ſuch hedges, copſes, and ditches, to cover them, that there was nothing to do for the horſe; ſo that, when the vanguard began to engage, they had none but part of the infantry interlined with the left wing of horſe to ſecond them, the body of the foot being almoſt a mile in the rear. However, the king made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up again, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain; with ſuch foot as could come up. The eagerneſs of the ſoldiers to follow their royal leader, and to engage the enemy, was ſuch, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, and took more time to form their battalions than could now be conveniently ſpared; ſo that, before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing, being overpowered by thirty battalions of the enemy, that charged them connually one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons brought up by Boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confuſion, and to leave the wood in the enemy's poſſeſſion. The Engliſh life-guards owed their preſervation to the Daniſh foot-guards; and Baron Pibrack's regiment of Lunenberghers being in diſorder upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the colonel himſelf lying dangerouſly wounded upon the place,

Sir

Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the Earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemy's fire before he ſuffered any peloton of his battalion to diſcharge once; by this method he lodged himſelf in the hollow way near the wood, ordered his ſerjeants to carry off the Baron Pibrack, and maintained his poſt till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of Naſſau.

The king, enraged at the diſappointment of the vanguard for want of timely relief, expreſſed his concern by often repeating theſe words: "Oh! my poor Engliſh, how they are abandoned!" Nor would he admit Solmes to his preſence for many months after. And now, conſidering that the fight was not to be renewed without endangering the loſs of the whole army, Luxemburgh being conſiderably reinforced by Boufflers, and beſides the night drawing on, his majeſty commanded a retreat, which was performed with admirable order, and without any great diſturbance from the enemy; who never durſt engage the Engliſh in the rear.

In this battle the confederates loſt the brave Lieutenant-general Mackey, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, the Earl of Angus, and divers other gallant officers, above two thouſand men killed; three thouſand wounded, or made priſoners, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. As for the French, bating the honour of remaining maſters of the field, they had not much reaſon to boaſt of any advantage, having had the Prince de Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefonds, the Marquis de Tilladet, the Brigadier Stoupa, the Marquis de Firmacon, and ſeveral other men of diſtinction, and two thouſand private ſoldiers, killed, and near as many wounded. Neither had they come off ſo cheap, had it not been for the Chevalier de Millevoix, one of the Elector of Bavaria's domeſtics, who had already given, and ſtill endeavoured to give further, intelligence, to the Marſhal de Luxemburgh, of the king's motions and deſigns,

ſigns, for which he was hanged on a tree in the right wing of his majeſty's army.

William, though frequently unſucceſsful, had a genius ſo fruitful in reſources, that he often drew more advantage from a defeat than the French did from their victories. The French miniſtry however did not entirely depend on the fortune of war for the execution of their revenge againſt King William; they likewiſe employed aſſaſſins to deprive him of life, in the moſt treacherous manner. One Dumont undertook to perpetrate this act of baſeneſs. Madame de Maintenon, and Paperel, paymaſter to the French army, encouraged the ſcheme. The aſſaſſin, to accompliſh his deſign, inliſted in the confederate army, in order to ſhoot the King of England when he ſhould ride out to viſit the lines, while a party of horſe from the French camp was to ruſh forward to the reſcue of Dumont, as ſoon as he had effected his purpoſe. This man was ſufficiently abandoned to form ſuch a ſcheme, but wanted that conſummate degree of villany which was neceſſary to execute it; he was betrayed by his own fears, and, having confeſſed his guilt, ſuffered death as a traitor.

About this time the Duke of Leinſter arrived at Oſtend with the troops that had embarked at St. Helen's. He was furniſhed with cannon ſent down the Meuſe from Maeſtricht; and he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Tollemache. He took poſſeſſion of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and Mr. Auverquerque, and a diſpoſition was made for inveſting Dunkirk; but, on farther deliberation, the enterpriſe was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aſide. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced, were ſtrengthened with new works, and ſecured with ſtrong garriſons. The cannon were ſent back, and the troops, returning to Oſtend, reimbarked for England. This fruitleſs expedition, added to the

inglorious iſſue of the campaign, increaſed the ill-humour of the Britiſh nation.

King William returned to England on the 18th of October, and on the fourth of November opened the ſeſſions of parliament, by a ſpeech, in which he took notice of the ſignal victory obtained over the French at ſea, and lamented the ſubſequent diſappointments, as well as the bad ſucceſs of the campaign by land. Neither the houſe of peers, nor the houſe of commons, aſſembled in a good humour; however, one of the earlieſt proceedings of the latter was, to paſs a vote of thanks to Admiral Ruſſel, his officers, and ſeamen, for the victory they had obtained. They then proceeded to enquire why that victory had not been purſued? why the deſcent had not been made? and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemies cruiſers? The admiral having exculpated himſelf, they petitioned the king, to give directions for the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been ſent to the admiral; they ordered Ruſſel to lay before them his anſwers, and the commiſſioners of the tranſports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Ruſſel acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, and ſhifted the blame of the miſcarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring, that twenty days had elapſed between his firſt letter to that nobleman and his lordſhip's anſwer. The earl's friends, of whom there were a great number in the houſe, eſpouſed his cauſe with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Ruſſel, ſo that a very violent debate enſued. Both parties agreed, that there had been miſmanagement in the ſcheme of a deſcent. It was moved, that one cauſe of the miſcarriage was the want of giving timely and neceſſary orders, by thoſe to whom the management of the affair was committed; the houſe divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only.

No ſooner were the ſupplies voted, than every exertion was made to prepare a formidable fleet early in the ſeaſon. In the month of January 1693 Admiral Ruſſel was diveſted of his command; but, to qualify this ſtep, he was appointed treaſurer of the houſehold. The command of the fleet was veſted in the hands of the Admirals Killegrew, Delavalle, and Shovel. Rooke was created vice-admiral of the red, and Aylmer rear-admiral of the ſame diviſion; Lord Berkley was vice-admiral of the blue, and Mitchell his rear-admiral. The king, to conciliate the affections of officers and ſeamen, went down to Portſmouth, where he carefully inſpected, not only the fortifications of the place, but the condition of the ſhips which lay there. Whilſt on-board Admiral Rooke's ſhip, he conferred the honour of knighthood on that officer.

The firſt object with the combined fleets of England and Holland was to block up the French in their ports, particularly in Breſt, and thereby remove the annoyance which the commerce of both countries had ſuffered from the privateers of France; but a fatal incapacity, or rather a deſtructive ſpirit of diſaffection, pervaded the operations of the council, and of the admiralty-board. It is even ſaid, that Killegrew and Delavalle were too much in the intereſt of James, to give any energy to the operations at ſea; and Shovel, though well affected to the government, could not act in oppoſition to his two colleagues. Such were the delays in getting to ſea, that the French navy had ſailed from their harbours before the Engliſh had quitted theirs; ſo that the meaſures which had been planned were entirely fruſtrated. It was not until the middle of May, that the Engliſh fleet ſailed at St. Helen's, and took on-board five regiments, which were intended for a deſcent in France. When the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons joined, they compoſed a fleet of eighty-three ſhips of the line; of which fifty-one ſhips were furniſhed by England, but theſe were feebly manned, and

ill provided with neceſſaries and proviſions; the ſtates ſent out thirty-two ſhips of the line.

The French had made vaſt preparations in all their ports, and had laboured, by well-directed efforts, to repair the damage which their navy had ſuſtained: they bought and armed all the large merchantmen in every port in the kingdom, thereby converting them into ſhips of war. An embargo was laid on all the ſhipping in France, until the royal fleet was manned. To animate the officers and ſeamen, Louis made a grand naval promotion; and the whole naval force of France conſiſted of ſeventy-one capital ſhips, beſides bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders. Whilſt it was generally believed, that with this force the French king meditated ſome freſh attempt to reſtore the exiled monarch, his views were really directed to intercept a very valuable fleet of merchantmen, bound from the ports of England and Holland for the Levant. Four hundred ſhips, conſiſting of Engliſh, Dutch, and Hamburghers, bound for the Straits, lay waiting for a convoy in May. On the 19th of that month, orders were ſent from the admiralty, for the whole grand fleet to convoy thoſe ſhips as far as might be found requiſite. The three admirals had agreed, that Sir George Rooke ſhould command a ſquadron of twenty-three men of war, Engliſh and Dutch, to eſcort the trade through the Straits, and along the Mediterranean, after the main fleet ſhould leave it.

Though the miniſtry had received no certain intelligence concerning the motions of the French, the fleet under Count Tourville had actually ſailed from Breſt the 16th of May. It proceeded towards the Straits to join the ſquadron expected from Toulon, under d'Eſtrees. On the 28th of the ſame month, this armament put into Lagos Bay. Whilſt it lay there, Rooke, with his ſquadron, and the fleet under his convoy, appeared, the grand fleet having ſhamefully left him, and the wealth which he eſcorted, on the 6th of June, about

fifty

fifty leagues W. S. W. of Uſhant, to fall a prey to the ſuperior ſtrength of France. Rooke, deceived by falſe intelligence of the ſtrength of the enemy, prepared to engage, but ſoon perceiving his miſtake, he ſtood out to ſea; at the ſame time ſending orders to the merchantmen that were near ſhore, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz. About ſix in the evening, ten ſail of the enemy's fleet, having on-board their admiral and vice-admiral, came up with two of the ſternmoſt ſhips, which were Dutch men of war, commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel; who, finding themſelves under the wind, and thereby cut off from all eſcape, tacked in for the ſhore, and thus, by dividing the attention of the enemy, gave many ſhips an opportunity of eſcaping. The Dutch captains, when attacked, made a moſt deſperate defence, but were at laſt overpowered by numbers and taken. An Engliſh ſhip of war, and a rich pinnace, were burnt, twenty-nine merchant ſhips were taken, and about fifty deſtroyed; the value of which was eſtimated at a million ſterling. The eſcape of the reſt of the fleet was owing to the injudicious conduct of Tourville, who might have ſurrounded and taken the whole.

Rooke, having called a council of war, found his officers divided in their opinions; ſome propoſed that he ſhould bear away for Ireland, and others, that he ſhould attempt to make the harbour of Liſbon. The admiral, however, over-ruled theſe meaſures, and determined to proceed to the Madeiras, where he ſafely arrived, and, having there taken in wood and water, he ſet ſail for Ireland, and arrived at Cork on the third day of Auguſt, with fifty ſail, including ſhips of war and trading veſſels. The Dutch, although very great ſufferers by this fatal blow, in the account which they publiſhed of their loſs, acknowledge, that it would have been much greater but for the conduct of Sir George Rooke, on whom they beſtow warm praiſes. Tourville, inſtead of purſuing Rooke, attacked ſome of the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh ports where the ſhips had retired. On the 20th of July, he appeared before Malaga, threatening to bombard the town if the governor protected the Engliſh and Dutch veſſels which lay in the harbour. The Spaniards not being intimidated by this threat, Tourville attacked the ſhips which lay in the mole with great fury. The ſeamen on-board them made a long and gallant defence. The French twice attempted to burn the Union frigate, but were bravely repulſed. The ſuperiority of numbers at length prevailed, ſo that the maſters of the veſſels were obliged to ſink them to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. A detachment of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, were then ſent to Cadiz, where, however, they effected very little. At Gibraltar, after an obſtinate defence, ſeveral rich ſhips were burnt and ſunk, together with a Dutch mnn of war.

Soon after Rooke had arrived at Cork, he received orders from three commanding admirals, to ſend ſix of the largeſt ſhips to the fleet which then lay near the Scilly iſles, and to ſtation the reſt at Kinſale. On the 16th day of Auguſt he joined the main fleet, having very fortunately fallen in with fifty ſail of victuallers, which were ſent out freighted with proviſions for the fleets; but, tempeſtuous weather having driven them off their ſtation, theſe veſſels had miſſed them. The admirals, having cruiſed for a few weeks in the mouth of the channel, on the 25th of Auguſt returned to St. Helen's, where the regiments were debarked that had been on-board all the ſummer without attempting any thing. On the 19th day of September, fifteen Dutch ſhips of the line, and two frigates, ſet ſail for Holland, and twenty-ſix ſail, with ſeven fire-ſhips, were aſſigned as guardſhips during the winter. The naval operations were then ſuppoſed to be cloſed for that year; but it ſoon appeared that there was yet a ſecret expedition to be undertaken, in order, if poſſible, to allay

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in ſome meaſure that national ferment which ſuch ſevere loſſes and miſcarriages had excited.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ſhips, whereby bombs may be thrown from a moving veſſel with as much certainty as from the ſolid ground, is an invention claimed by France, and was now about to be employed in annoying the inventors. On the 13th day of November, Commodore Benbow ſailed with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines and well-boats, put to ſea, and proceeded to St. Maloes. They anchored at Quincefort, when three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town. For thirteen days they threw bombs into the place, and, landing on an iſland near the town, they burnt a convent there. On the 19th they took the opportunity which a dark night, a freſh gale, and a ſtrong tide, afforded, to ſend in an extraordinary fire-ſhip, of about three hundred tons burden, which was ſtyled the infernal, and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes. This dreadful machine, calculated to give additional force to the horrors of war, ſtruck upon a rock, within piſtol-ſhot of the place where it was intended to moor her; the engineer was therefore obliged to ſet her on fire and retreat. She continued burning for ſome time, but at length blew up, with an exploſion that was terrible beyond deſcription. The whole town ſhook as if moved by an earthquake; three hundred houſes were unroofed by it at the ſame inſtant of time: for three leagues round, no glaſs or other brittle ſubſtance could withſtand the ſhock. The capſtan of the veſſel which dealt this deſolation, and which weighed two hundred pounds, was carried by the force of the powder over the walls, and, falling upon a houſe, levelled it to the ground. The walls towards the ſea were in general thrown down. The wretched inhabitants, with all their ſenſes aſſailed by terrors; the ground ſhaking under them;

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their houſes diſmantled, and threatening to cruſh them in their ruins; their ears deafened with the horrid din that burſt forth at the ſame inſtant; felt all the agonies of fear, inſomuch as to be totally incapable of taking arms and defending themſelves, ſo that they would have fallen an eaſy prey to a ſmall number of troops; but no ſoldiers had been embarked for the expedition. The ſailors, however, although unſupported, took and demoliſhed Quince-fort. The place had greatly annoyed England, by fitting out great numbers of privateers, which were hereby deſtroyed, and ample revenge taken of the plunderers. The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines, ſtyled Infernals, which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheldt when the Prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fire-ſhip, contrived to operate when moored cloſe to the town walls. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots; over which lay beams, bored through to give air to the fire; and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes filled with granadoes, chain-ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles. There were ſix holes, or mouths, to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement, as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this veſſel, was blown up in her, becauſe they found the body of a man, well dreſſed, upon the ſhore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the veſſels.

Early in the year (1693) the king had embarked for Flanders, leaving the queen, as uſual, regent in his abſence. The forces which the French brought into Flanders this year, at the beginning of the campaign, exceeded

exceeded thoſe of the confederate army by near one half. But King William, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the camp at Park, prevented the King of France's deſigns upon Brabant. Upon which the latter, without attempting any thing farther, returned to Verſailles, having ſent the dauphin with a ſtrong detachment, and Marſhal de Boufflers, into Germany.

The French, who were encamped at Meldert, under the command of the Duke of Luxembourg, not being able longer to keep their poſts, quitted them, and marched to Heyleſheim, in their way towards the river Maeſe. King William took this opportunity to ſend the Prince of Wirtemburg, with a ſtrong detachment, to force the lines the French had made to cover the countries they had conquered, from the Scheld to the Lys, and to Ipres, Berg, St. Winox, and even to the ſea by Dunkirk.

Juſt at this juncture, the Duke of Luxembourg receiving intelligence that Count Tilly, who commanded the troops at Liege, was bringing a reinforcement to the king, the duke haſtened with a body of troops to prevent their joining, which he was lucky enough to effect; for coming up with him, unexpectedly, in the hollow way through which he was to paſs, he made an attack upon him, killed near two hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat to Maeſtricht without his baggage. The Prince of Wirtemburg was indeed ſo fortunate as to force the French lines, and raiſe conſiderable contributions; yet this did not hinder Luxembourg from beſieging Hay, a conſiderable town with a caſtle, in the Low-countries, in the biſhopric of Liege, on the river Maeſe, in the territory of Condrootz, fourteen miles from Liege. King William, as ſoon as he was adviſed of this, led his army nearer to the country of Liege; but, on his arrival at Tongres, he, to his great ſurpriſe, received the diſagreeable news that the caſtle of Hay had capitulated on the 23d of July. As his majeſty was alſo informed that Mon-

ſieur Luxembourg had got nearer Liege, he ſent thither ten battalions, which being got into the place, though with ſome difficulty, the city abſolutely refuſed to accept of the neutrality offered by the French general. Upon which Luxembourg made as if he deſigned to lay ſiege to the place; but as he knew King William, who lay encamped at Neerheſpen, was greatly weakened by the detachments he had ſent both to Liege and Maeſtricht, his real deſign was to attack the king. The French army was ſuppoſed at this time to exceed that of the king's, by thirty-five thouſand men. The king, to know the certainty of the enemy's deſigns, before he went further off from the Maeſe, ſent out daily ſome parties of horſe; one of which returned on the 28th of July, and gave his majeſty an account they could not go beyond Warem, becauſe they met there with a great party of French horſe, which was indeed the left wing of their army upon the march.

As ſoon as the king had notice of the enemy's approach, he got on horſeback with the Elector of Bavaria, and chief officers of the army, and, finding that it was the vanguard of their whole army that was coming to attack him in his own camp, his majeſty immediately ordered to arms, and to expect the enemy. Moſt of the general officers were for repaſſing the Geet; but his majeſty choſe to make the advantage of the ground he had, and venture a battle, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion of the two armies, rather than expoſe his rear to the enemy's charge.

About ſix in the afternoon, Marſhal Joyeuſe came up with the left wing of horſe; and, about eight, the foot came up with the beſt part of the artillery; but, as was then too late to engage in battle, Luxembourg contented himſelf with diſpoſing his army, in order to engage early next day; and for this end poſſeſſed himſelf of the villages of Landen, St. Gertruyden-land, and Over-Winden.

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As ſoon as the enemy drew up by the confederate camp, the king ordered Brigadier Ramſey with his brigade, then compoſed of five battalions, to the right of all, to guard ſome hedges and hollow ways upon the right of the village of Lare. The Brandenburg battalions were poſted to the left of this village; and more to the left the infantry of Hanover; Prince Charles of Brandenburg, as major general, commanding the ſix battalions of Brandenburg, and Lieutenant-general Dumont the Hanoverians, with whom he was to defend the village of Neer-Winden, that covered part of the confederates camp, between the right wing of horſe and their main body. Theſe were afterwards reinforced by the firſt battalion of the firſt regiment of guards, and the ſecond battalion of Scotch guards. Upon the left at Neer-Landen, the king ordered the firſt battalion of the royal regiment, Churchill's, Selwin's, and Trelawny's, Prince Frederic's battalion of Danes, and Fagel's, to poſſeſs the village that covered the left of the confederates body of foot; which, upon the enemy's approach, had wheeled from the left to the right, to bring up their left to the brook of Beck, where it was covered by the village of Neer-Landen. The ground was open between the villages of Neer-Winden and Neer-Landen, whereupon his majeſty ordered a retrenchment to be made in the night from the one to the other, to cover the body of foot; which was indeed but a ſlight breaſt-work, as may eaſily be judged by the ſhort time they had to make it, and the ſmall number of men that worked about it, to wit, thirty men per battalion. What remained of the body of foot was drawn up in one line within this retrenchment to defend it. The dragoons upon the left were ordered to the village of Dormal to guard that paſs upon the brook of Beck, and from thence the left wing of horſe reached to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this brook, and from thence turned off to the right behind the body of foot.

The king, who had been on horſeback till late in the evening, not only to give all the neceſſary commands, but to ſee them executed, ordered his coach to be brought to the rear of Stanley's regiment, where he repoſed himſelf about two hours, and early in the morning ſent for Dr. Menard, one of his chaplains, into the coach to pray with him. The enſuing action, which has obtained the name of the battle of Landen, was fought the 29th of July. By ſun-riſing, the French were drawn up within reach of the confederates cannon, which played upon them with good ſucceſs, and which the French ſuſtained with admirable conſtancy, till about ſix o'clock, when they made a motion to draw nearer the king's retrenchments. About eight, Luxembourg ordered a ſtrong body of troops to attack the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden; which they did with great fury and various ſucceſs, having gained and loſt theſe poſts once and again; but at length the allies maintained their ground; and here the Duke of Berwick was taken priſoner by Brigadier Churchill. The duke was natural ſon to James by the Earl of Marlborough's ſiſter; ſo that Brigadier Churchill, who took him priſoner, was his uncle.

This did not diſcourage the French from trying their fortune againſt the confederates left wing; the fire was very ſmart on both ſides; the firſt battalion of the royal regiment was after a ſharp diſpute forced to retire, but was ſoon after encouraged by his majeſty's preſence, who rode immediately from the right to the left; and the enemy, after a ſharp conflict of about two hours, were entirely beaten off, and purſued quite out of the defile into the very plain; ſo that they attempted this place no more.

Hitherto the ſucceſs of the day was viſibly on the confederates ſide, and the French, who continued a faint fire at Neer-Winden, ſeemed as if they intended to draw off: but Luxembourg, having ſtill ſeveral brigades of freſh men, reſolved to gain the village of

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Neer-Winden, and ordered the Prince of Conti to make the attack. The enemy had remained maſters of the outermoſt hedges of this village, for, though our rallied forces had made the French give way conſiderably, yet they could not entirely clear the village. Conti, with the beſt foot in the French army, charged the confederates ſo vigorouſly, that the latter being already ſpent by their former encounters, were ſoon obliged to yield to the enemy the avenues of Neer-Winden. As M. Villeroy was marching with a ſtrong body of horſe this way, Count de Arco, general of the Bavarian cuiraſſiers, charged them with ſo much vigour, that, notwithſtanding their brave reſiſtance, he repulſed them quite within their foot; the Duke de Chartres who charged with them, narrowly eſcaping being made priſoner. Thereupon the confederates endeavoured to regain once more the poſt of Neer-Winden; and the Elector of Bavaria ordered two battalions to charge them in front, whilſt three others ſhould charge them upon their left flank; but the French rallying, and being conſiderably reinforced, the attempt became impoſſible; the Dutch and the Scotch guards having ſpent all their ammunition by their continual fire.

The king, who had left Neer-Landen upon the enemies freſh attempt upon Neer-Winden, twice led the Engliſh battalions to the charge, up to the right of the retrenchment, (which was now flanked, and under the enemy's command,) where they fought with great bravery. In the mean time Luxembourg, who had found a more convenient paſſage for the horſe, between the poſts of the king's and Zurbec's brigades, came in himſelf with the Prince of Conti and Count Marſin into the plain of the confederates camp, with the carabineers, and ſeveral other regiments; whilſt Joyeuſe paſſed between Neer-Winden and Lare, with three brigades. The firſt that had come in with Conti joined with the king's horſe, and fell upon the Hanover horſe

and broke them, whilſt part of the enemy's ſecond line of horſe and the reſerve came in upon their left, along the hedges of Lare. The Marquis of Harcourt, who had been ſent for from Huy, with his detachment of twenty-two ſquadrons, came time enough to have his ſhare of the day; he joined theſe, and made his dragoons alight and chaſe our foot out of the village of Lare. Villeroy came in upon the right of our retrenchments, which place the Engliſh diſputed with undaunted reſolution, till, being overpowered, the French remained maſters of this part of the retrenchment, which they levelled to make room for a body of horſe to come in.

After the Hanover horſe had been broken, the reſt of the confederates right wing of horſe, being cut off from the body of foot, was ſoon overthrown by the enemy, who now had the opportunity to charge them both front and flank. The Elector of Bavaria did what he could to reſiſt the numerous multitude of the enemies horſe that charged him thus; but, finding it impoſſible, with no ſmall difficulty he retreated over the bridge, and rallied on the other ſide as many of the ſcattered horſe and foot as could get over, to favour the retreat of thoſe who were ready to paſs. The king did what he could to remedy this diſorder, riding to the left to bring up the Engliſh horſe for the relief of the right wing. But the enemy had now got another body of horſe in our camp, commanded by the Duke d'Elbœuf. At the ſame time the Duke de Montmorency, Luxembourg's ſon, fell upon the right flank of the Dutch horſe, and put them into diſorder before the Engliſh horſe, which were led on by the king, could come up and form their ſquadrons; ſo that they were forced to charge the enemy in the ſame order they rode up to them; (and moſt of them had rode as faſt as their horſes could gallop;) but that did not hinder them from doing extraordinary ſervice. The king himſelf charged at the head of Lord Galloway's regiment,

ment, which diſtinguiſhed itſelf very much on this occaſion. Colonel Wyndham, at the head of his regiment, charged ſeveral times through the enemies ſquadrons. Colonel Langſton was made priſoner; and the Duke of Ormond received ſeveral wounds, and had his horſe ſhot under him; but was reſcued by a gentleman of the French king's guards, from the hand of a villain who was offering to ſtab him.

The king, ſeeing the battle loſt, ordered the infantry to retreat to Dormal upon the brook of Beck, which poſt had hitherto been kept by the dragoons of the left wing, who had nothing to do this day; and, finding that the enemies were ſurrounding him on all ſides, his majeſty ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galloway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neerheſpen, which he gained with great difficulty. There was now nothing but confuſion and diſorder in the confederates camp; all thoſe who could not get the paſſes for the retreat, being preſſed by the enemy, were forced to fling themſelves into the river, where abundance were drowned; the Duke of Athlone narrowly eſcaping the ſame fate. Lieutenant-general Tollemache brought off the Engliſh foot with great prudence, bravery, and ſucceſs: but ſome of the Engliſh life-guards were ſo ſcared with the fancy of a purſuing enemy, that they did not think themſelves ſecure till they had reached Breda. Sixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, were loſt; but all the baggage had been ſent to Lewes the over night, where it was ſafely brought off in reſpect of the enemy, but generally plundered by our own ſoldiers. As for the loſs of men, the confederates owned but ſix thouſand killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; and the French could not deny but that they had above two hundred general officers killed or wounded; private ſoldiers they loſt in proportion.

King William, during the action, made prodigious efforts of courage and activity. He was preſent in all parts

parts of the battle; he charged in perſon, both on horſeback and foot, where the danger was moſt threatening; his peruke, the ſleeve of his coat, and the knot of his ſcarf, were penetrated by three different muſket bullets; and he ſaw numbers fall beſide him. Even the enemy bore witneſs to his undaunted courage; the Prince of Conti, in a letter to his princeſs, which was intercepted, declared, that he ſaw the Prince of Orange expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; and that ſuch valour well deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his diſpoſitions and manœuvres were ſeverely cenſured. Luxembourg, after he had minutely examined the ſituation of the confederates before the engagement, is ſaid to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe, Waldeck is really dead." Alluding to that general's known ſagacity in chooſing ground for an encampment.

The confederates gave it out that the French had loſt eighteen thouſand men in the battle, which aſſertion ſeemed to be confirmed by Luxembourg's not purſuing his victory, and his continuing fifteen days together at Waren, without attempting any thing. However, after they had been reinforced, with ſome troops from the ſea-coaſt, and a great detachment under Boufflers from the Rhine, they ſat down before Charleroy. The place was attacked with great fury, but the garriſon made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that, though they had little or no proſpect of relief, yet they held out ſix and twenty days from the opening of the trenches, and then made an honourable capitulation.

The king returned to England the latter end of October, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Mitchel. One of the firſt meaſures which he took after his arrival, was to reinſtate Ruſſel in the command of the fleet, and diſmiſs Nottingham from his poſt. On the 7th of November parliament met; the king, in his ſpeech, expreſſed

preſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who were the authors of the miſcarriages at ſea; repreſented the neceſſity of increaſing the land-forces and the navy, and demanded a ſuitable ſupply for that purpoſe. Soon after the meeting of parliament, the houſe of commons entered upon an enquiry into the miſcarriages at ſea, and to conſider of means for preſerving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company was ſummoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the admiralty for convoy; while Lord Falkland, who ſat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions ſent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits fleet; together with a liſt of all the ſhips at that time in commiſſion. It came out, in the courſe of this enquiry, that the misfortune which had befallen the Smyrna fleet, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the miſconduct of the three admirals who commanded in chief, and to the neglect of the victualling-office. It was ſtrongly urged, to paſs a vote of cenſure on the admirals commanding in chief; but after much debate it was over-ruled, and the attention of the houſe was drawn to other matters. It appeared, that the ſum of 1,036,415l. was due for ſeamen's wages. The houſe thereupon paſſed a vote of credit for 500,000l. towards diſcharging theſe arrears, and granted 2,000,000l. for the ſervice of the navy in 1694. Lord Falkland was likewiſe found to have obtained, by indirect means, 4,000l. for which offence he was declared guilty of a high miſdemeanor, and breach of truſt, and committed to the tower; from whence he was ſoon after diſcharged upon his petition. But he was diſmiſſed from the head of the admiralty-board, to which the king advanced Ruſſel; and he alſo ſuperſeded Killegrew and Delavalle, placing Sir George Rook and Sir John Houblon as joint-commiſſioners in their room.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at home, the nation ſuſtained another misfortune at ſea. Sir Francis Wheeler had been appointed commander in chief in

the Mediterranean, and had proceeded there for the protection of the trade, as well as of the Spaniſh ports, with a ſquadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with the Dutch Vice-admiral Callemberg and his ſquadron. On the 17th day of February, being in the bay of Gibraltar, he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, under a lee-ſhore, which he could not poſſibly weather; the ground was likewiſe ſo foul, that no anchor would hold. A great number of ſhips were driven in aſhore, and many periſhed. The admiral's ſhip foundered at ſea, and he and all his crew, amounting to five hundred and fifty, periſhed; two Moors alone eſcaped. Two other ſhips of the line, three ketches, and ſix merchant-ſhips, were loſt. The remains of the fleet were ſo much ſhattered, that, inſtead of proſecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz in order to be refitted, and ſheltered from the attempts of the French ſquadrons which were ſtill at ſea, under the command of Chateau-Renaut and Gabaret.

The king had beſtowed great attention during the winter, in projecting the operations of the fleet for the enſuing ſummer, (1694.) The combined fleets were not aſſembled until the end of April. Ruſſel hoiſted his flag at Portſmouth on the 27th day of that month, and his avowed deſign was to ſail into the Mediterranean, to defend the ports of Spain from the French, who had determined upon making the principal effort of the campaign on that ſide. But the chief enterpriſe of the ſeaſon was deſigned againſt Breſt. Lord Godolphin, tho' at the head of the treaſury, had informed James ſome time before of this important ſecret; but, from the uncertainty which attended the ſailing of the fleet, he could not fix the time. General Tollemache, contrary to the expreſs opinion of Ruſſel, occaſioned this ſcheme to be adopted. When the admiral hoiſted his flag at St. Helen's, the land-forces, deſtined for the expedition, were on their march under Tollemache, to Portſmouth. The French, who had ſent an army

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into Catalonia, commanned by the Marſhal Noailles, openly declared their reſolution of aſſiſting, with their whole fleet, the deſigns of that general againſt Barcelona. The court of Spain, anxious to preſerve a place of ſuch importance, had prevailed on the King of England to ſend the main body of the combined fleet to protect the place. It was therefore generally believed, that the land-forces under Tollemache were deſtined for that ſervice. The alarm concerning Breſt, which had been raiſed by the intelligence ſent by Godolphin to James, had already ſubſided; and the cauſe of apprehenſion was greatly removed, by the ſailing of the French fleet from that port on the 15th day of April. It is now at length brought to light, that the Earl of Marlborough tranſmitted to the abdicated king, by means of Colonel Sackville, an account of the real deſtination of this armament, the day before Ruſſel ſailed with the combined fleets. See Macpherſon's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 69. who takes theſe facts from King James's MS. Memoirs preſerved in the Scotch college at Paris.

On the third of May, Admiral Ruſſel ſailed from St. Helen's with the combined fleets, conſiſting of fifty-two Engliſh and forty-one Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and other ſmaller veſſels. Having received advice of a fleet of French merchant-ſhips, which lay near Conquet-bay, he detached Captain Pritchard, in the Monmouth, with two fire-ſhips, with orders either to take or deſtroy them. Out of fifty-five ſail of veſſels, thirty-five were either burnt or ſunk; theſe were coaſters, whoſe general lading was ſalt, wine, and brandy. The admiral then returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with a part of the fleet, to take on-board the land-forces deſtined for a deſcent on France. Finding every thing ready, he ſailed again with the whole fleet on the 29th of May. A council of war being held on-board the Britannia, ſoon after they got out to ſea,

it was resolved that the fleet designed against Brest should immediately proceed thither. Accordingly, that squadron, having parted with the grand fleet, anchored on the 7th of June between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. The next day nine hundred men were landed in a disorderly manner, under the fire of some men of war. They found the bay lined with intrenchments which were filled with French marines. The English, having for some time bravely sustained the fire of the enemy, were at length forced to retreat. To add to the misfortune, it was now ebbing tide, and several boats were left dry on the sand. Confusion and slaughter prevailed. Six hundred soldiers were slain, many were drowned, besides those who were killed on-board of the ships. Tollemache himself received a wound in his thigh, of which he afterwards died at Plymouth. The ships which covered the landing were greatly shattered by the batteries which flanked the shore. One Dutch frigate was sunk, after losing her whole crew, except an ensign, a drummer, and a private man. The French had profited so much by the intelligence given them by Marlborough, that the English found it expedient to return home, without making any farther attempts.

The queen sent orders to the admiral to call a council of war, and to deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. It was then resolved to make an attempt upon the coast of Normandy, and the town of Dieppe was singled out as the object of their vengeance. They set sail on the fifth of July; but, meeting with foul weather, it was not till the twelfth that they began to play upon the town, when they bombarded it with such fury, that the greatest part of the place was reduced to ashes. They then proceeded to Havre-de-Grace, one third of which they demolished, together with great part of the walls, and destroyed numbers of the troops that had been poured in to defend the place, as well as of inhabitants,

tants. But these furious assaults had so shattered the vessels, that the admiral found it necessary to desist; but, to keep up the alarm which these attacks had spread along the coast, the fleet appeared off La Hogue, which greatly harrassed the French troops, by drawing them hastily down to that extremity of Normandy. Although the fleet by this time was incapable of attempting any thing, yet it alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that the inhabitants would have abandoned their dwellings, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

Lord Berkley returned from this successful expedition on the 26th of July. The command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who received positive instructions to undertake something against Dunkirk. He therefore sailed into the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, who was the inventor of those machines called *infernals*, and who directed their operations. This engineer brought with him several Dutch pilots, who were acquainted with the harbour of Dunkirk, and could assist the ships in the attack. On the 12th of September, the fleet appeared before Dunkirk; Captain Benbow was appointed to conduct the enterprise, under the directions of the engineer. The next day the Charles galley was sent in, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called infernals. These latter were set on fire without effect, and the design miscarried. The admiral then directed his course towards Calais, and in his way reduced to ashes the ancient town of Graveling. On the 17th he appeared before Calais, threw a great number of shells into the town, by which about forty houses were consumed; but the wind blowing hard, accompanied with a great swell of the sea, he was obliged to bear away for the Downs, from whence he sent the bomb-ketches and machines into the river Thames.

Very

Very little was done this year in Flanders. The king commanded the confederate army at Mont St. André, consisting of thirty-one thousand horse and dragoons, and fifty-one thousand foot; besides these, Count Thian commanded a body of seven thousand men, near Ghent. The French had very near as numerous an army near Huy; but the dauphin who commanded them, though he declared he was ordered by his father not to remove whilst the confederates kept their camp at Mont St. André, yet was he at last obliged to remove, when, notwithstanding King William used all possible diligence to pass the river Scheld, at point Espires, yet the French prevented him; for the Elector of Bavaria, having advanced to the river, found the French so securely intrenched on the other side, that he judged it too dangerous to attempt the passage of the river. By this means the allies were hindered from penetrating into French Flanders. The French, during the time they lay intrenched near Courtray, had sent strong detachments to cover Ypres, Menin, Berg, St. Winox, Furnes, and Dunkirk. King William, therefore finding he could effect nothing on that side, determined to take the opportunity to recover the town and castle of Huy from the French, which they had taken last year. Accordingly Prince Tserclaes de Tilly passed the Maese, and invested Huy, with a party of Brandenbourg horse, some battalions of foot, and all the horse and dragoons of the bishopric of Liege. He was the next day followed by the Duke of Holstein Ploen, who was to undertake the siege; but, at his approach, the town instantly surrendered. Soon after the batteries were raised against the castle, and two days after they opened the trenches, and continued their attacks with so much vigour, that they were ready for an assault in six days more; when the besieged beat a parley, and the governor on the following day surrendered the fortress. This action

cloſed the campaign in Flanders; the French being now entirely diſpoſſeſſed of the biſhopric of Liege.

While the war languiſhed in Flanders, the French puſhed their operations with vigour on the ſide of Spain. In Catalonia, Marſhal Noailles, having forced the paſſage of the river Ter, defeated the Spaniſh army intrenched on the farther ſhore. He took Palamos by aſſault; Geronne and Oſtalric fell ſucceſſively into his hands. His deſigns upon Barcelona were defeated by the arrival of Ruſſel, with the combined fleet, in the neighbouring ſeas: at his approach Tourville retired to Toulon. The Engliſh, by being maſters at ſea, gave a new turn to the ſiege, and Noailles preſently abandoned his enterpriſe. While the combined fleets continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durſt not venture to appear at ſea, and all his projects were diſconcerted. Ruſſel, after having aſſerted the honour of the Britiſh flag in thoſe ſeas during the whole ſummer, ſailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an expreſs order from the king, he wintered. During his ſtay in this harbour, he took ſuch effectual meaſures for preventing Tourville from paſſing the Straits, that he did not think proper to attempt it.

In the month of December, Queen Mary was taken ill of the ſmall-pox; and, the ſymptoms proving dangerous, ſhe prepared herſelf for death with great compoſure. She expired at Kenſington on the 28th of that month, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented both at home and abroad. Mary, in her perſon, was tall and graceful; with an oval face, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aſpect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehenſion was clear, her judgment ſolid, and her memory tenacious. She was a zealous Proteſtant; diſtinguiſhed by her undiſſembled piety, her extenſive charity, the evenneſs of her temper, and the mildneſs of her converſation. Her conjugal affection ſeems to

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have been the ruling principle of her life. Thoſe who thought that a king may be juſtified in being a tyrant, but that his people cannot be juſtified in reſiſting his tyranny, execrated with great bitterneſs the memory of this princeſs, for accepting the vacant throne of England upon her father's abdication, and reigning over theſe kingdoms to the excluſion of her parent. But if ever the conſideration of public good may be allowed to outweigh the ties of blood, and to ſuperſede, in ſuch inſtances only in which they claſh, the duties reſulting from conſanguinity, the conduct of Queen Mary may be conſidered not only as excuſable, but as meritorious. Naturally unambitious, her patriotiſm ought not to be doubted: it was not the attraction of royalty that drew Mary to oppoſe her father; but the full conviction that that father had broken the ſolemn engagements he had entered into with his people, and was ſtrenuouſly labouring to introduce the moſt fatal innovations in religion, and the civil government. So circumſtanced, it required no diſpenſation of the church to abſolve her from her filial obligations; her country demanded the ſacrifice, and the greater duty ſuſpended the leſs. The Princeſs of Denmark (afterwards Queen Anne) was no ſooner informed of the queen's dangerous illneſs, than ſhe ſent a lady of her bedchamber, requeſting that ſhe might ſee her. This was declined, but her ſiſter thanked her for the concern ſhe had expreſſed, and informed her, that the refuſal proceeded from the directions which the phyſicians had given, who had ordered the queen to be kept as quiet as poſſible. At the ſame time ſhe declared, that ſhe died in perfect amity with her ſiſter. The city of London, the two houſes of parliament, the nation in general, expreſſed, in warm addreſſes to the throne, their ſenſe of the queen's merit, and their own ſorrow. The princeſs Anne was prevailed on by the Earl of Sunderland, to write a letter of condolence to the king, on the death of his conſort.

conſort; and not long after ſhe viſited the king at Kenſington, where ſhe was received with every mark of kindneſs. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her reſidence, and preſented her with the moſt valuable of the late queen's jewels.

James made no efforts to recover his kingdom in conſequence of this event. He conceived hopes, that a government, which he thought depended upon the popularity of his daughter, would ſhake and unhinge itſelf by her deceaſe. He was much affected by the intelligence; but his ſorrow was more that of an enthuſiaſt than that of a father: he was rather grieved at her manner of dying, than at her death. The following are the reflections which he wrote in his memoirs on this occaſion: "The king received this additional affliction to thoſe which he had already undergone. He ſaw a child, whom he tenderly loved, perſevering to her death in a ſignal ſtate of diſobedience and diſloyalty: he perceived that ſhe was extolled for a crime as for the higheſt merit: he heard her contradictions called virtues; and her breach of duty to a parent, a becoming ſacrifice to her religion and her country."

King William was for ſome time under a ſincere concern for the loſs of his amiable conſort; but, as politics had taken entire poſſeſſion of his mind, he loſt all other concerns in the greatneſs of his apprehenſions for the balance of power and the fluctuating intereſts of Europe.

The parliamentary proviſion for the ſervice of the army and navy, during the year 1695, was 4,000,712l. for the raiſing of which ſum the land-tax was continued; the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage was renewed for five years, and new duties were laid on different commodities.

In the ſpring, four thouſand five hundred troops arrived at Cadiz, where Admiral Ruſſel had wintered, under the command of Brigadier Stuart, together with

a large fleet of victuallers. The admiral, hereupon, ſailed for Barcelona, where the affairs of France were greatly on the decline. The Marquis de Caſtanaga, viceroy of Catalonia, having formed a deſign of retaking Palamos, deſired the aſſiſtance of Ruſſel and his fleet for that purpoſe. In conſequence of this deſign, four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch troops were landed, whilſt the fleet began to bombard the town and caſtle. The Spaniſh army was quite unprovided with every neceſſary for conducting the ſiege, whilſt the French had a numerous garriſon in the town. Ruſſel, therefore, ſoon withdrew his aſſiſtance, but not till he had done conſiderable damage to the town and caſtle. He then proceeded to Toulon, to look after the French fleet. Having ſpent the ſummer to little purpoſe on the coaſts of Spain and Provence, he returned to Cadiz in the end of September. The French were, however, greatly alarmed at the Engliſh remaining undiſputed maſters in the Mediterranean, and were in continual dread of a deſcent being made on their coaſt; ſo that, although no actual advantage was gained, yet the French ports in that ſea were effectually ſhut up, and the honour of the Britiſh flag reſtored.

In the channel, Lord Berkley of Stratton, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde, obliged the French fleet to remain in port, whilſt they reſolved upon a ſecond attack upon St. Maloes. This attempt, however, did leſs injury to the town than their former one. On their way home they deſtroyed Granville on the coaſt of Normandy. Returning to Portſmouth to refit, they ſoon after took a ſmall number of ſoldiers on-board, and ſailed for the Downs with a deſign to attack Dunkirk; the expedition was conducted by Meeſters, who had provided inſtruments of deſtruction for the place. On the firſt of Auguſt, the bomb-ketches, fireſhips, and machine veſſels, with ſeveral light frigates and brigantines to cover them, entered the harbour. The bombardment began about nine in the morning, and

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the attack continued till about five in the afternoon. The French, however, were ſo well provided for their defence, that no impreſſion could be made. A want of unanimity diſconcerted the meaſures of the aſſailants, and the Dutch engineer retired in diſguſt during the night. Lord Berkley, although deprived of his aſſiſtance, reſolved to attack Calais. Previous to an aſſault upon the town, it was neceſſary to demoliſh a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier heads. This ſervice was gallantly and ſucceſsfully performed by Colonel Richardſon on the 17th of Auguſt. But, although ſix hundred bombs were thrown into the town, it ſuſtained no eſſential injury. This attempt concluded the operations of the combined fleets during the ſummer of 1695.

King William went over this year to Holland, in the middle of May, and arrived at Ghent on the fifth of the next month, and, on the eleventh of the ſame month, led his army to Rouſelaer. The 13th, the royal army removed three leagues further, and encamped at Becelaer. As Marſhal Boufflers was encamped at Ponteſpierre, his majeſty went in the evening to reconnoitre the enemy. The main body of the army he found encamped within their lines, ſtanding to their arms, as expecting to be attacked. As ſoon as the king was informed of this, he detached Major-general Churchill, with eight battalions, to join Major-general Ellemberg; and the Duke of Wirtemberg marched in the night with Colonels Goor and Brown, ten pontoons, and eight hundred pioneers, to take upon him the command of that army, and to make an attempt upon the fort of Kenoque, to encreaſe the enemy's jealouſy for Flanders, and draw their forces more and more on that ſide.

The ſame day the Elector of Bavaria made a feint of attacking the new line, and his majeſty went to an eminence to view the enemy; and, it being confirmed on all hands, that all their forces were within their

lines, his majesty sent orders to the Baron de Heyden to advance towards Flanders, with the troops under his command. Upon these motions, Villeroy detached two brigades from his army; one towards Courtray, the other towards the fort Kenoque, in the attacking which Prince Wirtemberg met with great difficulties; and at the same time his Britannic majesty sent fresh orders to the Earl of Athlone, and the Baron de Heyden, to confer together, and concert measures towards the siege of Namur.

The king had not as yet declared his design, but had pursued his stratagem of drawing all the enemies forces on one side, that he might attack the other with less opposition. This having succeeded according to his wishes, his majesty directed the Earl of Athlone and the Baron de Heyden to invest Namur, a great, rich, and strong, city, with a noble castle, in the Low-countries, on the rivers Maes and Sambre, three miles S. W. of Liege.

The Earl of Athlone, being joined by the Brandenburgh troops, left a good body of horse at Falaise, and marched with the rest to Charleroi. At the same time the king having marched back his army to Rouselaer, left them there under the command of Prince Vaudemont, and attended by a strong guard advanced himself towards the Maes. These motions, together with the great preparations which were making at Maestricht, Liege, and Huy, put the French in suspence whether the confederates designed to attack Namur, or Charleroi; and the Marquis de Harcourt, who had passed the Maes near Dinant, and who feared most for Charleroi, reinforced the garrison of that place with a body of dragoons. But the Earl of Athlone having passed the Chambre at Chasselet, below Charleroi, marched again down that river towards Namur; so that his lordship being by this time reinforced by a body of horse and dragoons, from the Elector of Bavaria's army, commanded by Count Tilly, lieutenant-general,

general, he took all the posts from the Sambre to the Maes of the town-side of Falaise; whilst Heyden with the Brandenburgh and Dutch forces invested the place between the Sambre and the Maes. Another detachment was ordered to surround Namur on the Condroz side; but their not coming in time, by reason of the difficulty of the ground, and the vast extent of the circumvallation, gave Boufflers an opportunity to throw himself into the place with several regiments of dragoons, a great many volunteers, and M. Megrigny, at the head of several engineers, miners, and gunners; insomuch that with this reinforcement the garrison consisted of near 15,000 men; the most of them the best troops of France. The king came to the castle of Falaise on the second of July, and the next day, the Elector of Bavaria having brought up the rest of his army with wonderful celerity, the town and castle of Namur were entirely invested. The Sambre and the Maes naturally divided the army into three general quarters, which were subdivided into several others. The king's quarters reached from the Sambre to the Maes towards Brabant, and here encamped twenty-three battalions, and one hundred and twenty squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, the Earl of Athlone, Baron Obdam, and others; his electoral highness was posted between the Sambre and Maes, with twenty-four battalions, twenty squadrons, the Spanish and Bavarian generals, General Cohorn, and a major-general of Brandenburgh; and, in the Condroz along the Maes, both above and below the town, were encamped, the Baron de Heyden, with the other Brandenburgh generals, and Count de Berlo, general of the cavalry of Liege, having ten battalions and sixty squadrons under them. For the communication of these quarters three bridges were immediately laid, one on the Sambre, and two on the Maes; and of these one was above, the other below, Namur. The same day the king received intelligence,

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that Marſhal Villeroy had ſent ſome detachments towards the Maes; that Prince Wirtemberg having amuſed the French for ſome time, and finding at length it was impoſſible to hinder the communication of Kenoque with the body under M. Montal, was retired from before that fort with eleven battalions of foot, and one regiment of horſe, and had joined Prince Vaudemont; that the latter, being thus reinforced, had detached Major-general Ramſey with fourteen battalions to attend his majeſty. The Count Naſſau, lieutenant-general, was gone the ſame way with eight battalions more; and he was ſoon to be followed by the Lord Cutts with ten others. The next day the king viewed the avenues to the town, and ordered abundance of trees to be cut down in the foreſt of Marlagne, to ſtop the paſſages on that ſide, and cover the retrenchment made on the road.

The fifth and ſixth of July, both horſe and foot being encamped, the beſiegers worked on the circumvallation, under the direction of General Cohorn; and the Earl of Athlone, having repaſſed the Maes with a hundred ſquadrons of horſe, marched towards Pieton, in order to conſume the forage there, and obſerve the motions of the enemy. Count Berlow followed him with the horſe of Liege, ſo that there remained but little cavalry before the place.

On the other hand, the French prepared themſelves for a vigorous reſiſtance; and, having been lately ſo conſiderably reinforced, expected no leſs than to defeat all the attempts of the beſiegers. Namur has ever been accounted one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Low-countries, both by the advantage of its ſituation, and the addition of its fortifications, which gave it the command over two great rivers, and made it the beſt bulwark of Brabant. The place had very much changed conditions, ſince it fell into the hands of a monarch, who never ſpared charges to put his frontiers and conquered cities into the beſt defence they are capable to receive

receive from art and nature. The town then, was quite over-looked by a ſteep hill, from the Iron-gate to St. Nicholas-gate; ſo that the French, having the liberty to bring down their batteries at firſt to the deſcent of that hill, and to open their trenches at the foot of it, near the Maes, they made themſelves maſters of it in five or ſix days. But now, to add a very conſiderable ſtrength to this weak part of the town, the French had made a detached baſtion on the aſcent of the hill before St. Nicholas-gate, all of ſtone-work, with a caſemate upon it bomb-proof; the counterſcarp was of free-ſtone, as alſo the covered way which pointed juſt upon the top of the hill; ſo that no cannon from the plain could bear upon this work; and the allies were neceſſitated to batter it in reverſe from the other ſide of the Maes. Upon the right, towards the Iron-gate, the beſieged had made three detached baſtions of the ſame work juſt upon the brow of the hill, and at the foot of the ſame, before the gate; and, between the hill and the brook of Werderen, they had a fourth which hindered the avenues between the hills to this gate. The plain upon theſe hills was fortified with a double covered-way, both palliſadoed, to defend theſe detached baſtions towards the village of Bouge; and, when the allies began to inveſt the place, the French were working at a third, nearer to the brow of the hill, juſt before theſe works; ſo that the town, which before was but weak, was now by the new fortifications rendered ſo ſtrong, that it held out longer than the caſtle. The caſtle, the principal ſtrength of Namur, is built upon an hill in an angle formed by the confluence of the Sambre and the Maes, and conſiſts of an irregular fortification, ſuch as the ground could admit of, divided into the old and new caſtle, or Terra Nova, and Cohorn or William's fort; and this likewiſe received ſuch additions from the French, as to leave it almoſt unattackable the ſame way they took it before. Cohorn-fort fell into their hands by carrying their trenches

trenches round it along the bottom, between it and Terra Nova; which work being thus embraced, and all manner of communication cut off, was soon forced to surrender. To prevent the like for the future, the French built a strong stone redoubt, just upon the top of the hill, between the Cohorn and Terra Nova, with a casemate over it bomb-proof; and, as this redoubt commanded all the bottom to the Sambre, so it had likewise a good covered-way, palliſadoed from the angle of the gorge of the Cohorn to the brink of the hill upon the Maes. Add to this, a very good half-moon they had raised before the curtain of the hornwork of the Terra Nova; besides their fortifying the Devil's House, that flanked the sides of the Cohorn towards the Maes, with a strong stone redoubt; which place, when the Spaniards had it, had but a simple retrenchment about it, and yet it held out four or five days. From the upper part of the Cohorn, on the side of the Maes, they had made a good covered-way, which embraced the beforementioned redoubt, to the edge of the hill upon the Maes; and had undertaken a prodigious line cut into the rock all along the top of the hill, near an English mile in length, terminating upon the edge of the hill towards the Sambre, with two redoubts at each end. The line was finished, and the redoubt towards the Maes very forward; but, that towards the Sambre being but just begun, they made it up with fascines, upon the arrival of the allies before the place. The castle was so well fortified on the top of the hill, that it would have been a very tedious piece of work to have attacked this way; but the weak side of it and Cohorn-fort was towards the Sambre and the town, which the French had not so much regarded; being so confident of the impregnableness of the place, that they had set up this inscription on one of the gates; *Reddi quidem, sed vinci non potest*; intimating that the town "might indeed be restored, but not retaken."

Namur

Namur being thus fortified, and provided beſides with all neceſſaries for many months; with a good ſtore of ammunition, a hundred pieces of cannon, twelve mortars, ten thouſand muſquets to ſpare, and a garriſon of twelve thouſand men; ſeemed to defy the attempts of the beſt appointed and moſt numerous army. Marſhal de Boufflers had thrown himſelf into it with ſeven choſen regiments of dragoons, a great number of volunteers, and Major-general Megrigny, another Vauban, followed by the moſt ſkilful engineers, gunners, miners, and bombardiers, of France.

The lines of circumvallation being finiſhed, the king, attended by the Elector of Bavaria, went, on the tenth of July, early in the morning, to Baron Heyden's quarters, where he was met by all the general officers, with whom having viewed the place, all were of his majeſty's opinion, that the attack upon the town ought to be made againſt St. Nicholas-gate; and therefore it was reſolved that the trenches ſhould be opened on the hill de Bouge, and below along the Hermitage, as alſo that in the Condroz ſide between the hill St. Barbe and the river; and that, to favour the opening of the trenches, Heyden ſhould raiſe a battery of ten pieces of cannon to batter in reverſe the covered-way and detached baſtion before St. Nicholas-gate, which faced the attack. Accordingly, the heavy cannon being brought up, the trenches were opened the next day without any great diſturbance from the enemy; and the ſame day Lord Cutts arrived in the camp with ſix battalions of foot. The 12th the batteries began to play, and the trenches were ſucceſsfully carried on. On the 13th, Prince Vaudemont informed the king, that the French ſeemed to have ſome deſign in Flanders, and that Aeth was moſt in danger. The next day, upon advice that the Marquis d'Harcourt and Lieutenant-general Ximenes were in motion, and might eaſily fall upon our convoys on the ſide of the Condroz and Liege, which was unguarded,

his majeſty detached twenty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons towards the plain of St. Severin, between Huy and Liege, to obſerve the enemy; and in the afternoon a battery of four pieces of cannon was raiſed from the eminence of Bouge, againſt the old tower of Coquelet, which very much incommoded the beſiegers.

The attacks againſt the town of Namur were carried on with great application; and, two or three ſmall ſallies of the beſieged having had no ſucceſs, they reſolved to make another on the 18th of July, about three in the afternoon, with one thouſand two hundred horſe, and four ſquadrons of dragoons. After they had croſſed the Maes, they attempted the trenches on the right hand of the bridge belonging to that river, took a redoubt that was unfiniſhed, and only ſtuffed with ſacks of wool, fell upon the beſiegers both in front and flank, and forced them at firſt to give way; but, the latter taking freſh courage, and being ſupported by ſome Brandenburgh horſe, the French were beaten back, with the loſs of two hundred of their men; nor was this encounter leſs bloody to the beſiegers. However the king finding, that very day, that the trenches were advanced within fuſee-ſhot of the counterſcarp, he reſolved to ſtorm the advanced works and traverſes that evening, an hour before ſun-ſet, to hinder the enemy from fortifying themſelves any more; and for that purpoſe his majeſty ordered, that the battalions that relieved the trenches ſhould begin the attack, and that thoſe that were relieved ſhould ſupport them. Accordingly Ramſey and Cutts, at the head of five battalions of the foot-guards, both Engliſh, Scotch, and Dutch, began the onſet on the right, being ſuſtained by ſix Engliſh battalions, commanded by Fitz-Patrick; and at the ſame time Major-general Saliſch, with eight Dutch and other regiments, and nine thouſand pioneers, inſulted the enemy on the left, from the redoubt to the ruined tower of Coquelet; and was to be ſeconded by Major-general Heukelom, with ſome

ſome Dutch battalions. The horſe-guard was doubled, and all the troops on that ſide had orders to be in readineſs to ſupport the whole attack in caſe of neceſſity; which precaution proved altogether needleſs, by reaſon of the extraordinary valour and intrepidity the aſſailants ſhewed on this occaſion. However, the beſieged having brought out eight battalions, a great detachment of dragoons, and all the grenadiers, to defend their entrenchment, the diſpute was obſtinate for two hours, but at laſt the French were beaten back, and purſued to the very gates of the town. The king, who remained upon the place during the whole action, was ſo well pleaſed with the bravery and excellent order of his men, that, laying his hand over the Duke of Bavaria's ſhoulder, he ſaid to him ſeveral times with tranſport; "See my brave Engliſh! See my brave Engliſh!" And indeed they advanced boldly, and undiſturbed, amidſt ſhowers of great and ſmall ſhot, bombs, and hand granadoes; which, by the effect of mines and ſougades, opened graves for them in ſeveral places, towards an enemy ſecured by entrenchments well palliſadoed. The confederates loſs in this action amounted to twelve hundred, either killed or wounded; and that of the French to about as many.

After this ſucceſs, the beſiegers carried on their trenches to the village of Bouge, towards St. Nicholas-gate; the ſame being done alſo on that ſide, near the Maes; as well above as below, with a deſign to draw two parallels along the river, on that ſide next the ſuburbs of Jambe, and oppoſite to the caſtle bridge; but the French, being apprehenſive of their deſign, ſet fire to the ſuburbs, which ſomewhat retarded the approaches that General Cohorn had begun.---On the 21ſt of July, a battery was finiſhed on that ſide next St. Nicholas-gate, and the trenches advanced one hundred paces towards the rivulet that runs into the bottom, which the French had ſwelled with water, and which was ſecured by a kind of a half-moon. Next

day they began to play upon a baſtion, and the works before St. Nicholas-gate, from a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon; and, on the 23d, the Brandenburghers battered the water-ſtop, in order to drain the moat; yet with little effect, becauſe it was lined with large free-ſtone. The great rains which fell about this time, very much incommoded the beſiegers, and interrupted their approaches; however, on the 25th, they plied their batteries with ſucceſs, raiſed new ones, ſet on miners to the redoubt of Balart, near St. Nicholas-gate, and the next day forced the captain that commanded in it to ſurrender at diſcretion.

On the 24th, the king went into the trenches, and perceiving the batteries had made great breaches in St. Nicholas baſtion, the demy baſtion of St. Roch, and at the end of the counterſcarp of the town, his majeſty diſpoſed all things for the general attack of the firſt counterſcarp, which was performed towards five o'clock that afternoon in this manner. The Engliſh and Scotch, commanded by Major-general Ramſey and brigadier George Hamilton, came out of the trenches to the right, and attacked the point of the foremoſt counterſcarp, which encloſed the ſluice, or water-ſtop; the enemy received them with a furious diſcharge, which put them at firſt into ſome diſorder; but they returned more animated to the charge, and drove the enemy from that counterſcarp. But it unluckily fell out, that, whilſt the workmen were making a lodgement, ſome ſacks of wool took fire, whereby part of the lodgment was conſumed, and the Engliſh expoſed to the ſhot of the counterguard, and demi-baſtion of St. Roch; which they ſuſtained and anſwered, with incredible reſolution, till the fire was extinguiſhed and ſome traverſes caſt up. On the other hand, the Hollanders, ſeeing the Engliſh in ſo hot a place, immediately went up along the Maes towards the breach of the counterguard, and ſo vigorouſly attacked the enemy with their hand-granadoes, that the latter thought it ſafer to retreat

treat than defend themſelves, which very much eaſed the Engliſh. Thereupon the Dutch lodged themſelves upon the counterguard, and thus both they, and the Engliſh, preſerved the foremoſt covered-way, before St. Nicholas-gate, from the Maes to the water-ſtop, with part of the counterguard. The valour and firmneſs of the confederates infantry in this action is hardly to be paralleled; and indeed the French officers behaved themſelves like men of true courage, expoſing themſelves on the glacis of the counterſcarp, and on the break of the counterguard, with their ſwords in their hands, in order to encourage their ſoldiers. The enemy did not throw many bombs, but they fired inceſſantly into the trenches with five or ſix pieces of cannon, which killed ſeveral perſons near the king.

While this was doing on the town ſide, the Elector of Bavaria was not idle between the Sambre and the Maes, but commanded an attack to be made towards the abbey of Salſines, where he deſigned to poſt himſelf. This was performed with ſo much vigour, that he not only forced the retrenchment next the Sambre, but made himſelf maſter of the fort of La Balance at the head of thoſe intrenchments; repulſed four ſquadrons of horſe that came out of the caſtle; laid a bridge over the Sambre; paſſed that river amidſt the enemies continual fire, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the abbey of Salſines, a poſt of great importance, and which favoured the attack of Vauban's line, that ſurrounded the works of the caſtle.

On the 28th, the king viewed the ſeveral poſts and lodgments, and finding all in good order, and that the miners were already at work on the ditch of the covered way, and on the water-ſtop, in order to drain both, his majeſty ordered ſome new batteries to be ſet up, particularly one on the glacis of the redoubt, in order to ruin the ravelin. The ſame day, ſixty grenadiers and as many muſqueteers, were commanded out of regiment to make an attack near the Iron-gate; which

the

the French at firſt ſuſtained with great courage, but were at laſt forced to retire; and in the evening they were likewiſe driven from the line of communication near the ſuburbs of Jambe, ſo that they were no longer in a condition to make ſallies on that ſide. On the other hand, the Elector of Bavaria, to ſignaliſe his conduct and bravery, reſolved to ſtorm the line of the caſtle, and ordered General Cohorn to diſpoſe all things for that purpoſe towards Salſines, and General Flemming to do the ſame on the other ſide of the Maes. On the 13th of July, by break of day, his electoral highneſs, with the Spaniſh and Bavarian generals, and General Cohorn, began the attack towards Salſines, and aſſaulted the retrenchment in flank with about three thouſand foot, ſuſtained by ſome battalions, and one thouſand Spaniſh and Bavarian horſe. Major-general Schwerin attacked the line in front, with five hundred grenadiers, as many muſqueteers, and one thouſand pioneers; and the Brandenburgh generals, with five hundred grenadiers, ſupported by two thouſand foot, and their grand muſqueteers, gens-d'armes, and and horſe grenadiers, inſulted the enemies flank on the Maes ſide. The beſieged at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but, being aſſailed on all ſides, and that with extraordinary bravery, they were driven to the counterſcarp of Cohorn-fort. Animated by this ſucceſs, the beſiegers purſued the runaways as far as the Devil's-houſe, where the French had ſeveral cannon laden with cartouches, and about nine hundred men laid flat upon their bellies, who now, ſtarting up on the ſudden, poured in vollies of ſhot upon the aſſailants. The latter received the fire with incredible undauntedneſs, forced the French from the counterſcarp of the fort, and made themſelves maſters of it; however, it being impoſſible to lodge themſelves there, they retired in pretty good order. By this brave action, at the expence of about two hundred men killed, or wounded, the beſiegers gained a lined redoubt, ſome advanced batteries,

batteries, and Vauban's retrenchment from the Sambre to the Maes, which with immenſe labour the French had cut through the rock, and which they boaſted would coſt the allies five thouſand men before they could take it.

This attack on the caſtle ſide, where the king was preſent, being over, his majeſty went to view the trenches on the town ſide; and, finding that a mine had been ſprung, which had overturned a good part of the water-ſtop into the ditch, whereby the water was lower by two feet, he ordered the miners to work on, in order to drain the moat; and all things to be ready to make a lodgment on the demi-baſtion.

The two following days, the beſiegers battered the works before St. Nicholas-gate with great fury, and threw many bombs, which did conſiderable execution; and particularly one fired by Lieut.-colonel Brown, which ſet on fire the enemies magazine in the demi-baſtion. On the ſecond of Auguſt, towards evening, Lord Cutts with two hundred Engliſh grenadiers, and Brigadie Dedem, with a like number of Dutch, both which were to be ſuſtained by the battalions in the trenches, were ordered to attack the ſaliant-angle, and the other the demi-baſtion, which they performed with bravery, and, after ſome reſiſtance, lodged themſelves on the ſecond counterſcarp.

The cannon having by this time widened the breaches, and all things being ready for a general aſſault, Count Guiſcard, the governor, demanded to capitulate for the town, which being readily granted, the articles were agreed upon, and ſigned on the fourth of Auguſt, by the Elector of Bavaria for the allies, and by Count Guiſcard for the beſieged. The ſame day the Iron-gate was delivered to the beſiegers, and on the ſixth the French evacuated the town, and retired to the caſtle.

Whilſt batteries are raiſing againſt the fortreſs, let us make a ſhort digreſſion, and obſerve the motions of the French army under Villeroy. After the marſhal

had failed in his design upon Prince Vaudemont, as also against Newport, he marched towards Dixmuyde, and ordered Montal to lay siege to it. The town was indeed but weak, but, considering the strength of the garrison, it might have held out a fortnight, or at least have surrendered with less ignominy; but Major-general Ellemberg, the governor, being a soldier of fortune, when he saw himself cooped up in a place, surrounded by a royal army, after a slight resistance of thirty-six hours, he yielded himself, and all his garrison, prisoners of war. Deynse followed the example of Dixmuyde, and surrendered to the French at discretion, without firing a gun.

Villeroy having ordered the fortifications of Dixmuyde and Deynse to be razed, passed the river Lys at Wacker, and marched up the lines to the Scheld; which he also crossed at Escanaffe, in order to continue his march to Ninove, giving out that he was going to the relief of Namur.

Upon advice of this motion, the Prince of Vaudemont decamped on the fourth of August from Ghent, and passing the canal at Vilvoerd, and the Burnt bridge, pitched his camp at Dighem, having his own quarters at the castle of Beaulieu. His highness sent to the French to demand the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, according to the agreement about the exchange of prisoners; but the Marshal de Villeroy, upon frivolous pretences, refused to send them back; and, contrary to the cartel, most of the soldiers were forced to enlist themselves in the French service, or were sent to Catalonia, and other remote parts.

The king, having received advice of the motions of the French army, marched, the tenth of August, early in the morning, with two troops of horse-guards, the troop of horse-grenadiers, and several squadrons of Brandenburghers, leaving the Duke of Bavaria to command the siege. The same evening his majesty reached Waterlo, and joined the troops commanded by the

Earl

Earl of Athlone, Count Naſſau, and the Marquis de la Foreſt; and, having had an interview with Prince Vaudemont, returned on the 12th to his camp before the caſtle of Namur, where immediately after his arrival the beſiegers broke ground, and carried on their trenches about an hundred and fifty paces before the Cohorn fort, towards the Sambre, and made a good lodgement.

Beſides the batteries already erected between the Sambre and the Maes, ſome others were ordered to be raiſed, both of cannon and mortars, as well in the ramparts as in the gardens of the city, in order to batter Terra-nova and fort Cohorn all at once. On the 13th, the beſiegers began to play from no leſs than twelve batteries, when one of their bombs, falling upon the magazine of the Devil's Houſe, blew up above 1000 granadoes, ruined a great quantity of arms, and killed and wounded ſeveral perſons. The trenches were carried on with great ſucceſs, though the enemy endeavoured in the night time, both with their great and ſmall ſhot, to diſturb the workmen. But their batteries were ſoon ſilenced by thoſe of the Engliſh, which it is confeſſed on all hands made ſuch firing as was never ſeen ſince gunpowder was invented.

Boufflers himſelf, being unuſed to this unequal way of fighting, began to wiſh himſelf in the open field, and formed a deſign to break through the confederates camp with his cavalry; but the king, having notice of it, ordered ſtrong guards to be placed at all places where the Sambre could be paſſed; and the ſame was done all along the Maes by General Fleming. However, on the 18th, towards midnight, they made a ſally with two hundred dragoons mounted, and five hundred grenadiers; of the latter, one hundred and fifty made the attack on the right hand, but were repulſed by the Count Rivera, and the reſt on the left, where Lord Cuts had juſt poſted the advanced guards to ſecure the workmen. The dragoons fell upon Lieutenant-colonel Sutton, who,

being poſted in the plain of Salſine with about forty fuſileers, let them come on till they were very near him, then gave them a round volley, and retreated to his body; but, the dragoons preſſing upon him, he commanded his men to fire upon them. The French advanced boldly; and, had their grenadiers charged at the ſame time, they would undoubtedly have cauſed great confuſion in the trenches; but the Spaniſh and Bavarian horſe, who were near at hand, fell upon the enemy with ſo much vigour, that they drove them to the very paliſadoes of the caſtle, killing ſome and making others priſoners.

The Marſhal de Villeroy, being conſiderably reinforced with all the troops that could be ſpared out of the garriſons, and the forces from the ſea-coaſts, marched directly towards Namur, with an army, as the French themſelves gave out, of no leſs than ninety thouſand men, and with which they confidently boaſted to raiſe the ſiege of the caſtle. Upon the enemies advancing from Enghien to Soignes, Prince Vaudemont, in conjunction with the Earl of Athlone, and a reinforcement of ten battalions and eighteen ſquadrons, which the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel had brought up from the Rhine, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtrong camp of Mazy, within five Engliſh miles of Namur.

The French army being in the mean while come as far as Flerus, they gave the beſieged a ſignal of their approach by the diſcharge of ninety pieces of cannon, which was anſwered by a great light ſet on the higheſt part of the caſtle. This obliged the king to leave the care of the ſiege to the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Holſtein Ploen, and to repair to the army, with a reſolution to oppoſe the French, who ſeemed now fully bent to attack him, being lately reinforced by a detachment from Germany, and other troops, under the command of the Marquis de Harcourt.

On the 29th of Auguſt Villeroy advanced towards the confederates, then ſtill encamped near Mazy, but found

found them so well posted, that he thought fit to retire in the night without noise. The next day he moved along the Mehaigne, extending his right to Perwys, and his left to the abbey of Boneffe; whereupon his Britannic majesty caused his army to move towards Ostin and Long Champ to observe them; and sent orders to the Marquis de la Foreſt, who commanded a body of reserve in the plain of Boneffe, to return to the main army. The enemy, perceiving that the confederates had made a halt on the hill behind Long Champ, sent several squadrons of the French king's household over the Mehaigne, in order to charge la Foreſt, between whom and the French there happened a small skirmish, as far as a defile, which being secured by the dragoons of Dopſt, the enemy went no farther, but repassed the Mehaigne in great haste. All these marches and countermarches of Villeroy did not hinder the king from detaching the day before three thousand grenadiers from his army, to be employed in the general assault of the castle, which his majesty had concerted with Prince Vaudemont, the Elector of Bavaria, and other general officers.

On the 30th of August, the day appointed for this memorable action, the besiegers began early to batter the breaches of Cohorn fort and Terra-nova, and continued till eleven o'clock, when his electoral highness sent Count Horn, accompanied by the Earl of Portland, to summon the besieged. The batteries having given over firing, Count Horn called to the enemy, and told Count Laumont, commander of the French foot, that the Marshal de Villeroy, after having been three days in sight of the confederate army, had thought fit to retire towards the Mehaigne without fighting; that the garrison could not expect now to be relieved: and that his electoral highness, being willing to spare the lives of so many brave men on both sides, had charged him to offer honourable terms to Count Guiscard, if he would surrender; but that he gave him but a

quarter of an hour to deliberate upon the propoſals. Thereupon Count Laumont took upon him to acquaint Guiſcard and Boufflers with Horn's meſſage; and promiſed to bring back a ſpeedy anſwer; but, not returning in half an hour, Horn grew impatient, the parley was broke, and the batteries played inceſſantly againſt the breaches, till between one and two, when the general aſſault began in the following manner.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given, Lord Cuts, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, ruſhed out of the trenches of the ſecond line, which were ſeven or eight paces diſtance from the breach of Terra-nova, where he was commanded to lodge himſelf; and Colonel Marſilly marched on his right to poſſeſs himſelf of the line of communication next Cohorn fort; Count Rivera, major-general of the Bavarians, with three thouſand men, marched out of the trenches of the firſt line, in order to attack the breaches of Cohorn fort; Major-general la Cave advanced to attempt the ſame fort at the point; and Major-general Schwerin marched againſt the Caſotte with two thouſand Brandenburghers. The Engliſh grenadiers under Lord Cuts, borne away by their own native valour, and animated by the example of their leader, and of ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen, who expoſed themſelves as volunteers, ran faſter towards the enemy than they could be followed by the battalions of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton and Mackay, who moved from Salſine to ſupport them. The grenadiers mounted the breach without oppoſition, the enemy not expecting to be attacked on that ſide, by reaſon of the great diſtance of the trenches; but, as ſoon as the French ſaw thoſe bold adventurers were not ſuſtained, they brought down two thouſand of their beſt foot and dragoons into the ſpace between the Cohorn and the Terra-nova, to fall on the Engliſh in flank and in rear, which obliged the latter to make a ſpeedy retreat. The beſieged made a ſhow of purſuing them; but, by this time, three of the fore-mentioned regiments being come

come up to their assistance, the French retired through the breach of Terra-nova, after having surprised and defeated five hundred men under Marsilly. The English, having borne six several discharges, had several killed and wounded; and among the latter was Lord Cuts himself, who received a shot in his head, which disabled him for some time.

Whilst this passed near Terra-nova, Count Rivera, with the Bavarians, instead of marching to the left of the platform, went a little too much to the right, towards the covered way, which was well palliſadoed, and thick set with musqueteers, who made a terrible fire. Through this mistake, instead of storming two small breaches of the angle of the platform, according to the scheme made for this attack, the Bavarians attempted to force the covered way before the great breach, whereby they remained exposed for two hours to the enemies double fire; which killed them abundance of men, and amongst them Count Rivera himself, with most of the officers of the Bavarian guards.

Lord Cuts was scarcely dressed of his wounds, when growing impatient of being idle, while others were still engaged, he put himself again at the head of his brave countrymen; and, observing that the Bavarians, notwithstanding the loss of their leader, had fixed themselves upon the uttermost retrenchment of the point of Cohorn next to the Sambre, and maintained that post with a great deal of obstinacy, but could not gain any more ground, he thereupon resolved to make good their attack. To effect this, he ordered that a detachment of two hundred men should be made out of such as were most forward to signalize themselves, whom he still encouraged by promises of distinguishing rewards; that those should be sustained by the regiment of Mackay; and that the other English forces should rally, and follow as soon as possible. Being come to the place of action, his lordship detached a party of the forementioned chosen men headed by Lieut. Cockle

of

of Mackay's regiment, whom he ordered to attack the face of the ſaliant angle next the breach ſword in hand, without firing a gun; to paſs the palliſadoes, and enter the covered way; and there to make a lodgment if they found any place capable of it; and at the ſame time his lordſhip commanded the enſigns of Mackay's regiment to march ſtrait to the paliſadoes, and place their colours upon them. All this was ſo well executed, that Lieutenant Cockle, breaking through the palliſadoes, beat the enemy from the covered way, lodged himſelf in one of their batteries, and then turned their own cannon againſt themſelves. On the other hand, whilſt Mackay's enſigns advanced to the paliſadoes, the Bavarians renewed their attack with undaunted vigour; and ſo this poſt was made good. The troops were already ſo fatigued by an aſſault that had laſted ſeveral hours, that the beſiegers contented themſelves to have gained the covered way, before the breach of Cohorn, and the ſaliant angle towards the Sambre, and to have made a lodgment there, without any further attempt upon the breach. However this ſeaſonable reinforcement, which Lord Cuts brought to the Bavarians, had this further good effect, that it kept the enemy employed in defence of this moſt important poſt; which very much facilitated Major-general la Cave's enterpriſe upon the covered way before the ravelin, and upper point of the Cohorn, and ſo up towards the Caſotte, where he lodged himſelf without any conſiderable loſs. On the other hand, Major-general Schwerin, who commanded the right attack of all before the Caſotte, made up boldly towards the covered way and retrenchment between the Caſotte and the Maes; overcame the enemies reſiſtance; drove them from their poſts, ſecured all the avenues, and made a very good lodgment, all along this covered way and entrenchment, of about three hundred paces; which he extended to the left, turning in towards the Cohorn, about one hundred and forty paces more, to join it to that of la

Cave, that reached to the ravelin of the Cohorn. Thus, although the beſiegers miſcarried in the great deſign of this general ſtorm, which was to have taken the caſtle, with its prodigious outwork, all at once; yet they were now maſters of one of the greateſt lodgments that ever was made in one aſſault, being near an Engliſh mile in extent. Such a vaſt lodgment could not be done in a moment; neither could the aſſault, which laſted till evening, be maintained without conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The beſiegers, by their own confeſſion, had two thouſand men killed, or wounded, and among them many perſons of note. Count de Rivera major-general, the Colonels Coulthorp, Marſilly, Lindroot, the Baron de Heckeren, Lieutenant-col. Fabricius, and Captain Mitchel, were among the ſlain; and among the wounded were, Prince of Holſtein Norburgh, Lord Cuts, Princes of Heſſe Homburgh, Eppingen, Zinzenburgh, Caunits, Horne, Count Dona, Luzelburgh, Melun, Counts de Denhoff, and Hamilton; ſeveral officers of his majeſty's Engliſh guards, particularly Colonels Windſor, Stanhope, Evans, and Mr. Thompſon. The loſs of the beſieged in this action did not exceed ſix hundred men, either killed or wounded. The Elector of Bavaria expoſed himſelf greatly, riding from place to place, and giving his orders where the diſpute was moſt obſtinate, animating the officers by extolling their valour, and diſtributing handfuls of gold among the ſoldiers. All the troops of the ſeveral nations behaved themſelves with equal intrepidity; however it may be ſaid, that the Engliſh were the moſt bold and puſhing, the Bavarians moſt firm, and the Brandenburghers the moſt ſucceſsful.

The 31ſt of Auguſt was wholly ſpent by the beſiegers in perfecting the lodgments they had made the day before; and in preparing all things for a ſecond general aſſault; but the next day, the beſieged having demanded a ceſſation of arms to bury their dead, which was readily granted, Count Guiſcard came upon the breach

breach a little before the truce was over, and desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria. His electoral highness having mounted the breach, the count offered to surrender the Cohorn fort: but, the elector answering that if he would capitulate it must be for the whole, Guiscard replied, that Mareschal Boufflers commanded in the castle, and that he would let him know; and desired that in the mean while the cessation of arms might be continued; to which his electoral highness having agreed, Boufflers consented to treat for the whole. Thereupon an adjutant was immediately dispatched, to give the king an account of it, at Ostin; which express met his majesty with the Prince of Vaudemont, then coming to the siege, in his coach, to give directions concerning a further attack. Upon his majesty's arrival, hostages were exchanged, and propositions brought from the castle, the chief of which was, that they might have ten days to expect succours. This being absolutely denied, the French, after some debates among themselves, were contented to receive such terms as the elector, with his majesty's consent, would grant them, being such as are usual upon the surrender of a strong fortress, whose garrison has made a gallant defence. The capitulation was agreed on that very night, and signed the next morning, and part of the outworks were given up presently after to the allies; the besieged having three days more allowed them to evacuate the castle.

Villeroy being informed of the surrender of the castle of Namur, retired from his camp at Gembloux, and passed the Sambre near Charleroi with great precipitation; and, having sent two thousand men to reinforce the garrison of Dinant, he marched with the rest of his army towards the lines, near Mons.

On the fifth of September, the day prefixed for the French to evacuate the castle, the horse and foot that were encamped between the Sambre and the Maes were commanded commanded to make a line on both sides,

ſides, from the breach of Terra-nova, through which the garriſon was to march out up the hill, and ſo down again to the Maes, to the way that leads to Givet, whither it was agreed they ſhould be ſafely conducted. About ten o'clock in the morning the garriſon, which from fourteen thouſand was reduced to five thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight men, began their march. The Marſhal de Boufflers's guard du corps went out firſt; then his domeſtics, and next himſelf, with Guiſcard, the governor, at the head of the dragoons as many as were mounted, that is between eighty and ninety in all. The king was incognito in a coach, and the Elector of Bavaria, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the chief officers of the army, on horſeback, to ſee them paſs within two hundred paces of the breach, and were ſaluted by the French marſhal and count with their ſwords. This civility was hardly over, when Monſieur Dyckvelt accoſted Boufflers, with a meſſage which ſomewhat diſcompoſed his countenance; and, as they were riding up to the top of the hill, Monſieur de l'Etang, brigadier-general of the brigade of the life-guards, made up boldly to the marſhal, with about twelve of the gentlemen of the life-guard, and arreſted him in his Britannic majeſty's name, by way of repriſal for the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which were detained and ill treated by the French, contrary to the cartel. His confinement was not long: for upon the return of the captain of his guard, whom he ſent to give the King of France an account of what had happened, and the marſhal engaging his word that the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſhould be ſent back as ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be ſet at liberty, his Britannic majeſty ordered the governor of Maeſtricht to releaſe him, and give him a guard to conduct him ſafe to Dinant.

The king having left the command of the army to the Elector of Bavaria, his majeſty went to Dieren, and from thence to Loo, his uſual receſs for diverſion and buſineſs; whilſt both armies continued in the field till

the 25th of September, and then began to separate. The French king's household returned into their quarters, and most of the rest of his troops retired within the lines. As for the allies, their forces were distributed into several neighbouring garrisons, except some detachments which were marched towards Nieuport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemburg, for the security of that place. And thus the campaign in Flanders ended about the close of the month of September. The king, during his stay abroad, having settled with the States-general the state of the war for the next year, returned to England in October; and, dissolving the parliament, which then stood prorogued, called a new one, which assembled on the 22d of November following.

In the beginning of the year 1696, a double plot was discovered to assassinate the king, and invade the kingdom. Many of the adherents of the late king came over from France, and held consultations with the papists and nonjurors on the murder of King William; and, after several debates on the time, place, and manner, of executing their horrid design, they at last agreed to assassinate his majesty some day in February, as he returned from hunting, in a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the whole plot was happily discovered by Pendergrass, the very night before it was to have been executed. It was confirmed by de la Rue, another of the conspirators, and afterwards by Capt. Porter, and others, who came in upon the proclamation for apprehending the conspirators. At the same time there was to have been an invasion from France; for which purpose James was come to Calais; and the troops, artillery, and stores, were immediately ordered to be embarked; but, by the news of the miscarriage of the assassination plot, and by the speedy sending of a formidable fleet under Admiral Russel, the whole design was frustrated. Several of the conspirators fled beyond sea; and, of those who were apprehended,

hended, Carnock, King, and Keys, were executed on the 18th of March; Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, on the 3d of April following; Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lowick, and Mr. Cranbourn, on the 29th. Some time after Sir John Fenwick was apprehended for that part of the plot relating to the invaſion. The proof of this man's guilt could only be obtained from two witneſſes, Porter and Goodmans; theſe two were practiſed upon by offers of large bribes to quit the kingdom, that the charge might fall to the ground. One of theſe witneſſes accepted the conditions and withdrew; the other, by pretending to liſten to the propoſal, betrayed the whole deſign. The queſtion was, whether the legiſlature had a right to diſpenſe with that degree of evidence, which in the courts of law were eſſentially neceſſary at all times, in a caſe where the preſervation of a government, and the puniſhment of a flagitious diſturber of it, were deeply intereſted. The bill of attainder paſſed the upper houſe by a majority of ſeven votes only. Fenwick was thereupon beheaded on Tower-hill.

The deſign of invading England, as has been already hinted, proved equally abortive as the aſſaſſination-plot. The French king, induced by the ſtrong aſſurances he received of the number and influence of the Jacobites in England, agreed to furniſh an army, and every thing neceſſary for a deſcent: the troops intended for this expedition aſſembled about Calais and Dunkirk, and four hundred ſail of great and ſmall veſſels were collected from different ports. James, however, had no ſooner reached Calais, than the Duke of Wirtemberg diſpatched his aid de camp from Flanders to King William, with an account of the blow that was meditating. Expreſſes, with the ſame tidings, arrived from the Elector of Bavaria, and the Prince of Vaudemont. Two conſiderable ſquadrons being ready for ſea, Admiral Ruſſel embarked at Spithead, and ſtood over to the French coaſt, with about fifty ſail of the

line. This ſudden appearance of the Engliſh fleet, ſo contrary to the accuſtomed tardineſs which had impeded its operations, threw the enemy into confuſion; they hauled in their veſſels under the ſhore, in ſuch ſhallow water, that the Engliſh could attempt nothing againſt them; however, nothing could be done in tranſporting troops to England, ſo that the deſigns of France were effectually fruſtrated. James, having continued ſome weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were ſent back to the garriſons from whence they had been draughted, and the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant ſtar, which ruled the deſtiny of James, had blaſted this, as it had done every other project formed for his reſtoration.

This year the parliament of England paſſed an act for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen, by which thirty thouſand ſeamen were ordered to be regiſtered, in order that they might be in readineſs at all times for ſupplying the royal navy; theſe were to receive a premium of forty ſhillings yearly. Such regiſtered ſeamen only were eligible to any commiſſion or warrant offices in the royal navy; they were likewiſe entitled to a double ſhare or dividend in all prizes. And ſuch only, when maimed, or ſuperannuated, were to be admitted into the newly-eſtabliſhed hoſpital for ſeamen at Greenwich. The widows and children of ſuch regiſtered ſeamen, who might be killed in the ſervice, were alone admiſſible into that hoſpital. By the ſame act ſixpence per month was to be deducted from the pay of all ſeamen, as well ſerving in merchant ſhips as in the royal navy, for the ſupport of Greenwich hoſpital. This act, ſo far as it relates to the regiſtering of ſeamen, was repealed by an act of the 9th year of Queen Anne; and, although many plans have been propoſed for the reviving of ſuch a regiſter, yet ſo many objections have been ſtarted, that no law has as yet been framed for ſo important a matter as that of having in conſtant readineſs a competent number of ſeamen to man

man the royal navy when the exigencies of the ſtate call for a ſpeedy ſupply of men, without having recourſe to the barbarous and unconſtitutional practice of preſſing.

His majeſty went over to Holland in May; and ſome time after put himſelf at the head of the confederate army in Flanders. The French had taken the field before, with a ſuperior force; but the allies were ſoon after reinforced by a body of Germans. Both armies ſuffered greatly for want of pay; the French, becauſe they had no money; and the Engliſh, on account of the calling in the money to be recoined. The whole of this campaign paſſed over without any conſiderable action; for nothing more was done than each party watching the other, and ſtriving to get the moſt convenient camps.

During the ſummer of 1696, nothing of conſequence was performed at ſea. Lord Berkley, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, ſailed on the 24th of June for the Bay of Biſcay. On the 3d of July he appeared with his ſquadron before the iſland of Groais, oppoſite to Port l'Orient. Here they deſtroyed twenty villages, containing thirteen hundred houſes, and carried off a great number of horſes and black cattle; he then proceed to Houat and Hedic, which lay to the ſouth-eaſtward, and within a few leagues of the iſland of Belleiſle, which they laid waſte. At the ſame time Sir Martin Beckman was ſent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the Iſle of Rhé, the greateſt part of which he reduced to aſhes. On the 7th, the ſquadron, which conſiſted of ten men of war, bombarded Olonne, a town in Lower Picardy, which was ſet on fire in fifteen different places, with the ſhells and carcaſes. Though theſe appear to have been enterprizes of ſmall import, yet it ought to be remembered, that they ſerved to keep the whole weſtern coaſt of France in perpetual alarm; inſomuch that 60,000 men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime parts.

In

In May Rear-admiral Benbow ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to block up a famous naval partiſan of France, named Du Bart, in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and, ſteering north-eaſtward, attacked a fleet of Dutch ſhips in the Baltic, which was convoyed by five frigates. The whole of the convoy he made prize of, together with near half of the merchantmen; but, on his return home with his captures, he fell in with the Dutch Baltic fleet outward bound, which had thirteen ſhips of the line for their convoy. As he was by no means a match for ſuch a force, he was compelled to burn four of the frigates, to turn the fifth adrift; alſo ſeveral of his prizes, only fifteen of which he kept, and brought ſafe into the harbour of Dunkirk.

The houſe of commons, which met on the 20th of October, entered into an enquiry concerning the miſcarriages of the fleet, which was chiefly aimed at the conduct of Sir George Rooke, who had received orders to intercept the Toulon ſquadron in its way to Breſt, he having wintered at Cadiz; but in this attempt he miſcarried. The commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, reſolved to enquire, why this fleet was not intercepted? Rooke was examined at the bar of the houſe, and called upon to produce his journal, together with the inſtructions he received from the admiralty, and the letters which had been written to him from thence. The Admirals Shovel and Mitchel were likewiſe examined; but, no imputation being fixed upon the commander in chief, the affair dropped. The houſe afterwards voted the ſum of 2,372,197l. for the maintenance of 40,000 ſeamen, two marine regiments, the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of ſeamen.

The operations by ſea and land, during the ſummer of 1697, were feeble and unimportant. All the powers of Europe, grown weary of this tedious and exhauſting ſtruggle, were well inclined to hearken to terms of peace.

peace. King William left Kenſington the 24th of April, and in three days arrived at the Hague. The advances made towards a peace, at the cloſe of the preceding ſummer, were improved in the winter. The king had named, in the month of December, three plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty: the French king had appointed two perſons, in the like capacity, to be joined to Callieres, who had long carried on a negotiation at the Hague. The emperor, and the court of Spain, threw various objections in the way; but, theſe being at length over-ruled by the reſt of the allies, a congreſs was agreed to be opened, under the mediation of Charles XI. king of Sweden; that prince dying in the mean time, the office of mediator was transferred to his ſon, Charles XII. a youth of no more than fifteen years of age, who, as Voltaire juſtly obſerves, was reputed an hero at an age when others have not finiſhed their education. The ambaſſadors of the belligerent powers met on the 9th of May, at a houſe belonging to the King of England, in the neighbourhood of Ryſwick, a village ſituated between Delft and the Hague. The maritime powers were now abſolutely under the direction of the King of England, who had all along been the life and ſoul of the confederacy; and he had ſcarcely any thing to ſettle with France, except her acknowledgment of his right to the throne of England. Louis XIV. therefore, who had reſtored to the Spaniards all he had taken near the Pyrenees, in the late war; as alſo Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai, in Flanders, agreed to acknowledge William as lawful King of England; hitherto ſtyled only Prince of Orange, and accounted an uſurper: he promiſed likewiſe to give no aſſiſtance to his enemies. James, who was not even mentioned in the treaty, remained at St. Germain's, living on the empty title of king, and a penſion from Louis. He ſent nothing now againſt his rival but manifeſtoes; his protector was obliged to ſacrifice him, and he was already forgotten in Europe.

Indeed, that prince had ceased to expect aid from France ever since his disappointment in the projected invasion of the preceding year. He flattered himself, in his lost condition, with other hopes: he was assured from England, that William was in a declining state of health, having a dropsical habit of body, and that his dissolution seemed to advance with hasty strides. James had formed a new scheme upon the event of his nephew's death. He resolved to return to England, though three men should not follow him, and to throw himself on the good-nature of the English nation. "It could not enter into his mind," he said, "that the people of England would treat him with indignities;" and he looked upon the majority as well attached to his interests.

The hopes which James had formed, upon the speedy death of William, were dashed from a quarter where no check to his views was then feared. The Princess of Denmark had, for six years, maintained a correspondence with her father, in which she gave him strong assurances of her duty, and expressed her contrition for having deserted his interests. The ill state of King William's health had now awakened her ambition, and opened to her an alluring prospect of a crown. She wrote to her father upon the subject, and desired to know his pleasure, whether he would permit her to ascend the throne, according to the act of settlement, should the Prince of Orange, so she called King William, happen to die? She accompanied this request with expressions of duty, and a seeming readiness to make restitution, when opportunity should serve. She insinuated, that should he refuse to accede to this expedient, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, he would remove himself farther from the hopes of recovering his throne. The sceptre, she said, would fall into worse hands, out of which it could not be so easily recovered. This reasoning of the princess was too refined for the temper of her father. He told

told his friends, that, though he could suffer injustice, he could never be persuaded to give it countenance: he knew, he said, that of all restrictions, none is harder to make than that of a crown: he however excused himself to his daughter; and his declared adherence to the resolution of placing himself in the hands of his former subjects, put an end to the proposal.

The Emperor of Germany was the only potentate leagued in the grand confederacy who continued to shew a hostile disposition. His backwardness to peace proceeded from the success of his arms in Hungary, under Prince Eugene of Savoy; who, on the 11th day of September, totally defeated the Turks at Zenta, a small village on the western banks of the Theysse, in the kingdom of Hungary. To the spirit and conduct of this commander, the complete victory which the Imperialists obtained is to be ascribed. The slaughter, rather than the fight, lasted from ten in the morning till late at night. The two preceding ages, though remarkable for battles, had not produced so bloody a combat. The Ottomans, broken by the enemy in the front, were at the same time attacked in the rear. In less than an hour after the first onset, resistance was at an end on the side of the Turks; but the rest of the day was spent in butchery and blood. All endeavoured to gain a bridge, which opened a communication with the opposite shore of the river, and was the only passage through which to retreat; but it was rendered impassable by the heaps of slain. To escape the fury of the sword, thousands threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. Thirty thousand were said to lie dead on the field, before night afforded safety to a few fugitives. The Turkish camp, the sultan's magnificent pavilion, the stores, the provisions, the ammunition, all the cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of the victor. The grand vizier was killed; the seal of the empire taken; the aga of the janissaries, and twenty-seven bashaws, were found

among the ſlain. Never was victory more complete. The peace had been ſigned on the 10th day of September, by all the parties in the war except the emperor; and he acceded to it on the 20th day of October.

King William, having finiſhed this important tranſaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidſt the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer.

The peace of Ryſwick gave the greateſt ſatisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular; that it did ſo, may appear from the numerous addreſſes of thanks and congratulation, which were ſent up from all parts of the kingdom, to felicitate his majeſty upon that occaſion, and to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of being delivered from the burthen and expence of ſo bloody and deſtructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French ſtruck medals, magnifying their ſucceſs in the war, and deſcribing themſelves as a match for all the reſt of Europe; ſince if they had really been ſo victorious, and had gained ſuch advantages, the wonder was, that they ſhould ſtoop to ſuch a peace. But though it may be true, that in many reſpects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foreſaw they were unable to ſupport ſo vaſt an expence as it brought upon them; and as their weakneſs encreaſed much faſter in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this, in a few campaigns, would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon ſtill worſe terms than were demanded now.

It muſt therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign, and of this adminiſtration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace, all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fifth article, the free uſe of commerce or navigation was reſtored between the ſubjects of both kings. By the

ſeventh,

ſeventh, all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, were reſtored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was ſtipulated for them which with any ſhow of juſtice they could deſire; ſo that by the concluſion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was re-eſtabliſhed, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantage afforded thereby, for rectifying what was amiſs in the domeſtic œconomy, for extending commerce, and lightening the burdens of the people.

The king opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the 3d day of December, and in the ſpeech which he delivered on that occaſion he aſſerted, that the naval force of England was then near double what it was at his acceſſion.

Freſh commotions in the ſouth of Europe already ſeemed brooding. Charles the Second, king of Spain, though in the flower of his age, was in ſo declining a ſtate of health, that his death was viſibly approaching. A great diſpute aroſe about dividing the ſpoils of this monarch.

In the ſummer of the year 1698, King William went over to Holland, where a treaty of partition was concluded between England, France, and the States, concerning the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh dominions, when the King of Spain ſhould die. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with ſeveral other places, particularly thoſe on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, were to be given to the dauphin of France; Spain, the Spaniſh Netherlands, and their dominions in America, were to devolve to the electoral prince of Bavaria; and the dutchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon. In the beginning of the year 1700, a ſecond treaty was concluded, on occaſion of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, whoſe ſhare was now aſſigned to the archduke Charles; and the Duke of Lorraine, whoſe country was to be given to France, was to have the duchy of

Milan. King William's design in this treaty was, doubtless, to create a proper balance of power in Europe; to prevent the too great aggrandizement of France, and a ruinous war; but he was only amused by the French king, who, though he himself proposed this partition, had, at the same time, another design in view; and made use of this treaty to accomplish it: for the Spaniards being enraged at having their monarchy thus dismembered, without their consent, Louis XIV. by his intrigues at the court of Madrid, under the pretence of preserving the Spanish monarchy entire, brought the king of Spain to sign a will, in which he made Philip duke of Anjou, Lewis's grandson, the sole heir to all his dominions.

The partition treaty, which had been entered into between England and France, gave great umbrage to the court of Spain, and the marquis de Canailles, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a memorial upon that occasion, couched in the most pointed terms of invective. William, on the receipt of this insolent paper, directed his secretary Vernon, to signify to that minister, that he must depart the kingdom in eighteen days, and at the same time time ordered his ambassador at the court of Madrid, to complain of the affront offered to his person. The King of Spain hereupon avowed the conduct of his ambassador, and ordered the English minister to depart the kingdom within the same space of time.

These disputes between William and Spain, neither hastened nor retarded the second treaty of partition, which that prince concluded the next year with France. His attention was not confined to the subject of the Spanish succession, though the declining health of Charles the Second threatened Europe with those miseries which it soon after experienced. The King of England employed his good offices in suppressing a flame, which seemed ready to be kindled in the north. Christian the Fifth, king of Denmark, dying on the

4th

4th day of September 1699, was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederic the Fourth, who inheriting the resentment, and pursuing the designs, of his father against the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, began to make great preparations both by sea and land, to reduce that prince to the terms which he prescribed. The duke, on the other hand, had strengthened his interest by a marriage with the princess-royal of Sweden; he himself was commander in chief of the troops of that kingdom, and he had obtained a force from his brother-in-law, Charles the Twelfth, to resist the attacks which might be made on him from Denmark. A private treaty had been entered into between the kings of Denmark and Poland, the elector of Brandenburg, and Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Muscovy, by which it was agreed, to strip the young Swedish monarch of the most valuable of his territories, and particular districts were therein assigned to each of the confederating powers. The King of Sweden, finding himself thus beset with enemies, addressed himself to King William, and the States-general, as guarantees of the treaties made for securing the tranquillity of the north, by maintaining a proper balance of power. All attempts to break this northern alliance against Sweden, by remonstrances, being found ineffectual, William determined on sending a fleet into the north, which should reason more forcibly than memorials or manifestoes. It was then debated in council, whether this step should be taken by the crown, without advising with the parliament, or whether the matter should be submitted to their discussion? On this point the ministry were divided, but the king's opinion determined the matter; he said, the executive part of the government was lodged in his hands, and therefore he would maintain the national faith by adhering to treaties, and acquaint the parliament therewith at their next meeting. A fleet of forty ships, English and Dutch, was therefore sent into the Baltic, with fire-ships and bomb-vessels, under the admirals

admirals Rooke and Allemonde, which arrived on the 20th day of July, at the mouth of the Sound. The fleet of Sweden, commanded by the king in perſon, having joined the allies, the Daniſh ſhips retired under the guns of Copenhagen. The King of Denmark was himſelf cooped up in Holſtein, by ſome Swediſh frigates cruiſing along the coaſt, while his capital was bombarded, though ineffectually, by the combined fleets of the allies. In this ſituation the active ſpirit of the young king of Sweden ſuggeſted to him the means of putting an end to the war, by one deciſive ſtroke. He reſolved to beſiege Copenhagen by land, while the fleet blocked it up by ſea: he made a deſcent at Humblebeek, oppoſite at Lanſcroon, and was himſelf the firſt perſon who landed. Theſe vigorous meaſures accelerated the treaty that was then negociating. When Sir George Rooke found the Danes ſeriouſly diſpoſed to treat, he refuſed to cover with his ſhips the operations of the Swediſh army, there being enough already done to ſecure a peace, which was ſigned on the 18th day of Auguſt, 1700; which left the King of Sweden at liberty to act againſt the czar and the King of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions at this juncture.

In the beginning of July 1700, the king went over again to Holland; and on the 29th of the ſame month, died the Duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of ſeven of the prince and princeſs of Denmark. He died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. The king tenderly loved him, and had appointed the Earl of Marlborough his governor, and Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, his preceptor. His death was much lamented by the greateſt part of the nation; not only on account of his promiſing talents and gentle behaviour, but as it left the ſucceſſion to the crown undetermined, and might create diſputes of fatal conſequence to the nation.

Charles, king of Spain, dying towards the end of this year, the Duke of Anjou was declared king of Spain, by his grandfather Louis XIV. And the French, at the ſame time, overrunning the Spaniſh Netherlands, both King William and the States were obliged to own the Duke of Anjou's title, in order to gain time, till they were in a condition to oppoſe the deſigns of France.

The, king, who was an admirable politician, ſaw plainly, that the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, if it fell entirely into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon, would leave it abſolutely in their power to give law to the reſt of Europe, and to deſtroy that independency ſo neceſſary to Great-Britain and Holland, which was ſecured by the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the houſe of Auſtria. He ſaw too, that the ſenſe which other powers had of their particular grievances, and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining ſuch a force, as might be able to bring that monarch to reaſon, and to conſent to ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would leave things in their former ſtate, and ſecure the ſeveral potentates of Europe in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights. This induced him to engage reciprocally papiſts and proteſtants, to ſupport each other's pretenſions; for, by the grand alliance, Great-Britain and the States undertook to procure ſatisfaction to the pope; as on the other hand the emperor, and other catholic princes, ſtipulated to ſupport the proteſtant intereſt, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in reſpect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cauſe; and though theſe articles expoſed the alliance to very popular objections amongſt party-men at home and abroad, yet to perſons of judgment and ſagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole muſt be regarded, and to this the particular views of the ſeparate princes and powers

who

who compoſe it muſt give way; and therefore if, conſidering things in this light, the general alliance formed againſt France in 1701 was right and well-founded, all the cavils raiſed againſt it from the party-ſpirit that prevailed here were equally frivolous and unjuſt.

His majeſty, ſoon after his return from Holland, diſſolved the parliament; and, at the ſame time, to pleaſe thoſe now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the church-party, made ſome alterations in the miniſtry; having firſt called up to the houſe of lords Charles Montague, by the title of earl of Halifax. The new parliament meeting in February 1701, the king, in his ſpeech, mentioning the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, recommended a farther proviſion in the proteſtant line after his death, and that of the princeſs Anne. The jacobites had openly exulted in an event, which they imagined would remove the principal bar to the acceſſion of the ſon of James: but the proteſtants generally turned their eyes upon the princeſs Sophia; and on the 12th of June, 1701, his majeſty paſſed the famous act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, by which the crown was limited to the above princeſs Sophia, electoreſs-dowager of Hanover, and her proteſtant heirs. She was grand-daughter of King James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and the mother of George I. afterwards king of Great-Britain.

When the reſolution was once formed to have recourſe again to arms, in order to preſerve the balance of power, the firſt care was taken of the fleet, which his majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy, his majeſty being extremely ſenſible of the ill conſequences that followed the want of this ſalutary precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. Preparatory to this was the new commiſſion of the admiralty in the ſpring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the Earl of Pembroke, a man univerſally beloved

beloved and eſteemed. The command of the fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon Sir George Rooke, who, on the 2d of July, went on board the Triumph in the Downs, where he hoiſted the flag. He ſoon after ſailed to Spithead, where he was quickly joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopſon, John Benbow, Eſq. and Sir John Munden; he was ſpeedily joined by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, beſides frigates and ſmall veſſels, under the command of Lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, Vice-admiral Vandergoes, and Rear-admiral Waeſſenare. The fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of Auguſt, for want of proviſions; and, when he put to ſea, the wind blew in a few hours ſo high, that he was obliged to put into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he ſailed again; and on the 2d of September he detached Vice-admiral Benbow with a ſtout ſquadron for the Weſt-Indies; and as this was the principal buſineſs of the fleet, and indeed a thing of itſelf of the higheſt importance, the admiral detached a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten ſail of Dutch men of war, beſides frigates, under Rear-admiral Waeſſenare, to ſee the Weſt-India ſquadron well into the ſea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean; and indeed, to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to the Weſt-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to gain an exact account of its ſtrength; the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his inſtructions for ſome time, and then returned, with the largeſt ſhips, into the Downs.

After this fleet was ſent to ſea, his majeſty thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the Earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral of England. The deſign of this promotion was, to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board: and this end it anſwered perfectly well; for his lordſhip immediately ſent away Captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the ſea ſtores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out; as alſo two hulks that had been left in that harbour from the time of the laſt war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ſhips which remained in that port. This the captain, with his ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting but of three frigates, effectually performed. His lordſhip alſo took the like care of our trade in other parts; and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very eaſy of acceſs, gave much more ſatisfaction both to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, ſince they were firſt introduced, had ever done.

Whilſt the aſpect of affairs menaced Europe with all the horrors of war, a triple alliance was concluded at the Hague, between the Emperor of Germany, the King of England, and the republic of Holland. The tendency of this treaty, was to ſecure to the emperor the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and to the maritime powers their dominions and commerce. It was thereby ſtipulated, that the parties engaged in this treaty ſhould uſe their endeavours for recovering the Spaniſh Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and iſlands on the coaſt of Tuſcany, belonging to the Spaniſh dominions, ſhould be attacked for the emperor. It was farther agreed, that the king of England and the States-General ſhould keep and poſſeſs whatever ſettlements they might wreſt from the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies: that the confederates ſhould faithfully communicate their deſigns to one another;

that

that no one power ſhould treat of peace or truce, but jointly with the reſt: that they ſhould concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the ſame government, and hinder the French from poſſeſſing the Spaniſh Indies: that, in concluding a peace, the confederates ſhould provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers, to the dominions which might be taken from the Spaniards, and ſecure the ſtates by a barrier: that they ſhould at the ſame time aſſiſt each other with all their forces, in caſe of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: that a defenſive alliance ſhould remain with them even after the peace: that all kings, princes, and ſtates, ſhould be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months to obtain, by amicable means, the ſatisfaction and ſecurity which they demanded, and ſtipulated that within ſix weeks the treaty ſhould be ratified. The Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Pruſſia, for the ſervices which he had rendered the common intereſts of the German empire, and the grand alliance thus formed againſt France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe, was by the intereſt of his kinſman, King William, acknowledged by moſt of the princes and ſtates of Europe, as King of Pruſſia.

In the beginning of September, 1701, the abdicated James, being according to his daily cuſtom, at public prayers, he fell ſuddenly into a lethargy; and, though he recovered his ſenſes ſoon after, he languiſhed for ſome days, and expired on the 6th of September. The French king, with great humanity, paid him ſeveral viſits during his ſickneſs; and exhibited every ſymptom of compaſſion, affection, and every reſpect. Louis, being under a difficulty how to proceed upon the unexpected death of James, called a council to take their advice whether he ſhould own the Prince of Wales as King of Great Britain and Ireland. The king himſelf had heſitated long in this delicate point. But the

dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the princes of the blood, declared, that it was unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France not to own that the titles of the father devolved immediately upon the ſon. Louis approved of this reſolution, and determined to acquaint the dying king with it in perſon. When he arrived at St. Germain's, he acquainted firſt the queen, and then her ſon, of his deſign. He then approached the bed in which James lay almoſt inſenſible with his diſorder. The king, rouſing himſelf, began to thank his moſt Chriſtian majeſty for all his favours; but Louis interrupted him. "Sir (ſaid he), what I have done is but a ſmall matter; but what I have to ſay is of the utmoſt importance." The people then began to retire. "Let no perſon withdraw (ſaid Louis). I come to acquaint you, ſir, that, when God ſhall pleaſe to call your majeſty from this world, I ſhall take your family into my protection, and acknowledge your ſon, as he then will certainly be, King of Great Britain and Ireland." This being publicly proclaimed, in direct violation of the peace of Ryſwick, Lord Mancheſter, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was inſtantly recalled from France, and the French ambaſſador ordered forthwith to leave London; but no formal declaration of war enſued.

The King of England however determined to take the field early in the next ſpring, and ſettled with the United Provinces, in the capacity of ſtadtholder, the operations of the campaign. The emperor indeed preſſed him to break immediately with France; but he had lately ſuffered ſo much from the refractorineſs of the Engliſh houſe of commons, that he prudently declining entering upon hoſtilities without their approbation and aid.

King Wiliam arrived in England in November to meet a new parliament, which was to aſſemble on the 30th day of December, on which occaſion he delivered an excellent ſpeech to both houſes, on the poſture of

public affairs; the conduct of the French king; the dangers that threatened Europe by a grandson of Louis XIV. possessing the throne of Spain; and informed them of the alliances he had entered into, with a view to avert the impending dangers. This speech was received with universal applause; and was so much admired by the friends of liberty and the revolution, that it was printed, with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French, languages; and was hung up in all their houses, as the king's last legacy to his own and all Protestant people.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution; and it was by this time almost exhausted by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or at least to conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On the 21st of February 1702, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him; and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace at Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced; and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture; and the bones were again replaced by Bidloo his physician. This in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune; but to him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep on his couch he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, that soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay next to his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from Archbishop Tennison, he expired on March 8th; having lived 52 years, and reigned 13.

William

William III. was of a middle ſtature, a thin body, and delicate conſtitution; ſubject to an aſthma, and continual cough, from his infancy. He had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave ſolemn aſpect. He was naturally taciturn; and when he ſpoke his converſation was dry, and his manner diſguſting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, ſpirited, and animating. "He left," ſays Voltaire, "the reputation of a great politician, though he was never popular; and of a formidable general, though he loſt many battles." The truth is, never any prince better underſtood the general intereſt of Europe, or purſued it with greater firmneſs; and, whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of the nation, they ought to be imputed to the circumſtances of the times, and the party-ſpirit which divided the nation, rather than to the king's miſconduct. He was acquainted with moſt of the European languages, yet could not ſpeak any one with elegance, for he was a man of more judgment and reflection than imagination; he had an utter diſlike to flattery, herein, as in moſt other parts of his character, being ſtrongly contraſted to Louis XIV. Though he aſcended the throne of England by the urgent invitation of all parties in the nation, yet he reigned without being beloved; for which many cauſes may be aſſigned: by his birth, education, and connections, he was a Dutchman; predelection therefore for his countrymen could not fail of making him enemies among the Engliſh nobility; add to this, that he could never appear delighted with thoſe he deſpiſed. "There was a ſimplicity, an elevation, and an utility, in all the actions of William's life. The laſt treaty which he ſigned was the grand alliance; the laſt act of parliament that he paſſed, was one which completed the ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion; and the laſt meſſage he ſent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between two parts of the iſland

iſland which had been too long divided." That the Seven United Provinces did not loſe their liberty by being conquered by France; that this iſland did not ſink into the moſt abject ſlavery; that the proteſtant religion was not aboliſhed by law in every country in Europe, appears, under God, to have been owing to him. To him it is owing, that mankind now ſee the ſingular ſpectacle of a monarchy, in which the ſovereign derives a degree of greatneſs and ſecurity from the liberty of his people, which treaſures and arms cannot beſtow upon other princes. In his private character he was religious, temperate, juſt, ſincere, and a ſtranger to violent guſts of paſſion.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, about the year 1690, erected Fort-William at Calcutta, and which ſeems to have been the firſt place of ſtrength which they provided in thoſe parts. They had been long ſettled on the banks of the Ganges, in the kingdom of Bengal. Their firſt factory in that kingdom was at the town of Hugeley, on a river of the ſame name, which is a branch of the Ganges, one hundred and ſixty miles from its mouth. The fort and garriſon eſtabliſhed at Calcutta were deſigned to afford protection to the company's veſſels coming down that river from Patna, laden with piece-goods, raw ſilk, and ſaltpetre, thoſe being the principal ſtaple-commodities of Bengal. Soon after Calcutta had been made the mart of the Engliſh Bengal trade, the Dutch eſtabliſhed themſelves at Hugeley, where they built a noble fort and factory for the like trade, and alſo for Bengal ſtuffs, calicoes, cotton, and muſlin, for the European markets; as alſo for opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.

Near the end of William's reign the two Eaſt-India companies were united, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein Lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and Lord Halifax for the new. By this inſtrument

ſtrument it was agreed, that the old company's ſtock in the funds ſhould be transferred to the new; and that the old company ſhould purchaſe of the new as much of their ſtock as, with that which was transferred by the old, ſhould make up a moiety of the capital of the united companies. The old company were likewiſe to give an equivalent for the new company's dead ſtock. During ſeven years, each company was to have an equal power in the adminiſtration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve perſons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company reſpectively, who were to be ſtyled *Managers of the United Trade to India*; and after theſe ſeven years were expired, the old company were to ſurrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its ſtyle, and to be called, *The United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies*; and this agreement was the foundation of that compact, which has ſubſiſted with ſo great credit to themſelves, and benefit to the nation, ever ſince.

The year 1693 is memorable for the firſt eſtabliſhment of the preſent corporation of the Bank of England. Many propoſals and ſchemes had been offered to the public for the inſtitution of a national Bank. The only conſiderable Banks in Europe then ſubſiſting were, thoſe of Amſterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburgh. The ends propoſed in forming this company were, the accommodation of the commercial part of the nation, and rendering aſſiſtance to government. William Paterſon, a merchant, formed the plan of this Bank, which was brought to effect by Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The diſaffected party oppoſed this eſtabliſhment, alleging, it would engroſs the money, ſtock, and riches, of the kingdom. After very warm debates an act was paſſed, for granting ſeveral rates and duties on tonnage of ſhips, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for ſecuring certain recompences, &c. to ſuch perſons as ſhould voluntarily advance

advance 1,500,000l. it was thereby enacted, that their majesties might grant a commission to take particular subscriptions for 1,200,000l. part of the said 1,500,000l. (the ministry being unwilling to trust the whole to this new scheme,) of any persons, natives or foreigners, whom their majesties were thereby impowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of 100,000l. viz. 96,000l. for interest at 8 per cent. until redeemed, and 4000l. to be allowed the intended bank for charges of management. The corporation to have the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. This fund to be redeemable upon a year's notice, after the 1st of August 1705, and payment of the principal, and then the corporation to cease. The company were enabled to purchase lands; their stock was to be transferable: they were restrained from owing, at any one time, more than 1,200,000l. unless empowered by future acts of parliament. The dealings of this company were confined to bills of exchange, buying and selling of bullion, gold or silver; or the sale of any merchandize which might be pledged to them for money lent thereon, and which remained unredeemed at the time agreed upon, or within three months after. The corporation was restrained from lending any money to government, by way of loan or anticipation on any branch of the revenue, unless warranted so to do by parliament. This clause was probably inserted to guard against the evil which arose from Charles II. having shut up the exchequer, wherein the bankers money was deposited, and which they had, from time to time, advanced to him by way of anticipation of his revenues. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened, and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than 720,000l. of the money subscribed. This institution had continued only three years before many circumstances concurred to involve the infant

bank of England in difficulty and diſtreſs. Among the cauſes of theſe embarraſſments may be reckoned, an ill-judged ſcheme for a land bank in England, which proved abortive; the deficient funds for the annual ſupplies; and the bad ſtate of the ſilver coinage. Their notes, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, were at a diſcount of fifteen and twenty per cent. for ſuch was the company's neceſſity, that they could pay thoſe notes only by ten per cent. once in a fortnight, and at length no more than three per cent. once in three months were paid upon them. This extreme want of caſh in the bank aroſe from their having taken the clipped and otherwiſe diminiſhed ſilver money at the legal value, and alſo guineas at thirty ſhillings, for which they iſſued their notes, payable on demand, which occaſioned them to be much preſſed, until they received from the mint a ſufficient quantity of the new ſilver coin to enable them to anſwer the daily demands made upon them for their outſtanding notes. Theſe diſtreſſes obliged the bank to make two different calls of twenty per cent. each, on their members in the year 1696, and to iſſue bank ſealed-bills, bearing ſix per cent. intereſt, in exchange for bank caſh-notes. Such was the diſtreſs of the times, that the bank was obliged to call in all monies which they had advanced on mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other ſecurity. But theſe difficulties were greatly removed as ſoon as the new coinage was completed; but the entire reſtoration of the credit of the bank of England was effected by an act of parliament commonly known by the title of the "ſecond ſubſcription or engrafting act;" whereby an additional duty was laid on ſalt, and the other duties were extended to a longer term, in order to make up a general fund for paſt deficiencies. The ſubſcribers to the capital of 1,200,000l. were paid their principal, and the intereſt which had been made thereby; and a new capital of 5,160,459l. 14s. 9½d. beſides the current ſervice of

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the year 1697, was eſtabliſhed. The bank was thereupon empowered to iſſue an additional number of notes, equal to the amount of this new ſubſcription; and, in caſe ſuch notes were not diſcharged upon demand, the exchequer was ſubjected to the payment of them, out of the firſt money which ſhould become due to the bank. The ſame act confirmed the charter granted to the bank until the year 1710, when, upon one year's notice given, it might be revoked. In a few months after this proviſion was made for the bank, the ſtock, which had before been greatly below par, ſuddenly roſe to 112, ſo that thoſe, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of large quantities of bank ſtock when it was reduced to its loweſt ebb, gained immenſely in a very ſhort time; "Whereby," ſays Mr. Anderſon, "the greateſt eſtates were raiſed in the leaſt time, and the moſt of them, that had been known in any age, and in any part of the world. Sir Gilbert Heathcote is ſaid to have gained thereby above 60,000l."

About this time alſo Mr. Montague firſt ſet on foot a new circulating paper credit, by iſſuing bills from the exchequer; at the ſame time contracting for their being circulated for ready money on demand. As many of thoſe firſt exchequer bills were for ſums ſo low as five pounds and ten pounds, they were of great uſe, whilſt the ſcarcity of ſilver, occaſioned by the recoinage, continued. As they were taken at the exchequer for all payments of the revenue, and as when re-iſſued they were allowed ſeven pounds twelve ſhillings per cent. intereſt, they ſoon roſe from a ſmall diſcount to be better than par. They have ſince been iſſued yearly, and the bank of England has conſtantly, for many years paſt, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which purpoſe the bank takes annual ſubſcriptions for enabling them to circulate them.

In 1695 an act was paſſed, eſtabliſhing a trading company to Africa and the Indies, impowering them to plant colonies, build cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the conſent of the natives; veſting them with an excluſive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years from all duties or impoſts. This act was afterwards confirmed by letters-patent under the great ſeal, directed by the parliament, without any farther warrant from the crown. This ſcheme was projected by Paterſon, the ſame man who had formed the plan of the bank: he had farther in view the forming a ſettlement on the Iſthmus of Darien, in ſuch a manner as to open a trade to the South-Sea, and acroſs it, even to the Eaſt-Indies. The deſign was ſupported by the gentry and merchants of Scotland; but it ultimately proved ruinous to that country. It was ſaid to have been privately encouraged by the interlopers in the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade, who, finding the company ſupported by government, endeavoured to ſerve themſelves by theſe means.

Next year the king created a new and ſtanding council for commerce and plantations, commonly ſtyled *the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations*; one of whom was the celebrated Mr. John Locke. This eſtabliſhment owed its riſe to the loud complaints which the merchants of England carried to the throne, of the captures which had been made by the French of their ſhips, in conſequence of the little regard that was paid to the trade and commerce of the kingdom by the board of admiralty. From the year 1673, when the former ſtanding council of commerce was dropped, until this time, all diſputes and regulations reſpecting commerce, and the American colonies, were uſually referred to committees of the privy-council; but ſuch occaſional committees, being a conſtantly-varying ſet of members, and having no ſtated appointment for tranſacting ſuch concerns, were not induced

duced to beſtow that attention upon them which their importance merited. It was therefore found highly expedient to eſtabliſh a regular and permanent board for ſuch important ends, our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as moſt branches of our home trade and of our numerous manufactures, being now greatly increaſed and improved. This new board was compoſed of a firſt lord commiſſioner (who has ever ſince uſually been a peer of the realm) and of ſeven other commiſſioners, each having a ſalary of 1000l. a year.

Another act, paſſed the ſame ſeſſion, was intended for farther enforcing and improving the acts of navigation, and for preventing of frauds and other abuſes in the plantation trade. It was thereby enacted, "that all ſhips trading to and from our Aſian, African, or American, plantations or ſettlements, ſhall be Engliſh, Iriſh, or plantation-built; and that their cargoes ſhall be either Engliſh, Iriſh, or plantation property, and ſhall be regiſtered as ſuch, &c. and as our North-American colonies had now riſen into conſequence, it was therein enacted, "that no charter-proprietor of lands on the continent of America ſhall ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe of them to any other than natural-born ſubjects, without the king's licenſe in council for that purpoſe."

Towards the latter end of this reign, Captain Dampier, in the king's ſhip the Roebuck, having ſailed into the South-Sea upon new diſcoveries, after various adventures, ſailed round the eaſtermoſt coaſt of New-Guinea, and diſcovered a large iſland to the northward, which he named New-Britain. This navigator, in paſſing between New-Britain and New-Guinea, diſcovered ſeveral ſmall iſlands to which he gave names.

In the 11th year of King William's reign an act paſſed, reſpecting the Newfoundland trade and fiſhery: thereby all Britiſh ſubjects were authorized to trade thither, and to fiſh on its banks. By the ſame ſtatute

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it was ordained, that the first fishing-ship that should arrive at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland should be deemed admiral there for that season: the second ship so arriving should be vice admiral; and the third, rear-admiral: which three admirals were empowered to decide controversies concerning places or stations in harbours, stages, cockrooms, &c. there. Every by-boat keeper there was directed to carry with him two fresh men in every six; one of whom should have made but one voyage, and the other should have never been at sea before. To render this fishery yet a farther nursery for seamen, every inhabitant was required to employ two such fresh men in every boat kept by them. Also every master of a fishing-ship was directed to carry with him one man that had never been at sea before, for every five sailors on board his vessel.

The revenue of the post-office of England has been deemed a pretty certain criterion by which to judge of the state of commerce in the nation; the net revenue from whence, in 1699, is said to have been, 90,504l. 16s. 6d.

The same year, according to Dr. D'Avenant, the exports from all England into foreign parts, amounted to -	£6,788,166
Whereof, the value of our woollen manufactures alone was 2,932,292l.	
The value of the imports was -	5,640,506
Balance in favour of England, -	£1,147,660

Chelsea hospital was begun by Charles II. carried on by James II. and completed by William III. The first protector of this magnificent structure was Sir Stephen Fox, grandfather to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. "He could not bear," he said, "to see the common soldiers, who had spent their strength in our service, reduced to beg;" and to this humane project he contributed 13,000l. It was built by

by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, on the ſcite of an old college, which had eſcheated to the crown. The north front opens into a piece of ground laid out in walks; and that facing the ſouth into a garden extending to the Thames. In the centre of this edifice is a pediment, ſupported by four Tuſcan columns, over which is a turret. On one ſide the entrance is the chapel, and on the other the hall where the penſioners dine. In this hall is the picture of Charles II. on horſeback. The altar-piece in the chapel is adorned with the reſurrection, painted by the celebrated Ricci. The wings join the chapel and hall to the north, and are open on the Thames to the ſouth; they are three hundred and ſixty feet in length, eighty in breadth, and three ſtories high. A colonnade extends along the ſide of the hall and chapel; and, in the midſt of the quadrangle, is the ſtatue of Charles II. Two other large ſquares adjoining contain apartments for the ſervants of the houſe, for old maimed officers, and the infirmary. The penſioners conſiſt of veterans, who have been at leaſt twenty years in the army; or of diſabled ſoldiers. They wear red coats lined with blue, and are provided with all other clothes, diet, waſhing, and lodging. The out-penſioners amount to upwards of eight thouſand, and have each 7l. 12s. 6d. a year. Theſe expences are ſupported by a poundage deducted out of the pay of the army, with one day's pay, once a year, from each officer and common ſoldier; and, when there is any deficiency, by a ſum voted by parliament. This hoſpital, which coſt 150,000l. is unqueſtionably a noble monument of national gratitude and humanity. It has been ſuggeſted, however, that, if there were no ſuch local eſtabliſhment, the ſaving of the vaſt expences incurred by it would enable government to make a much more comfortable proviſion for all our brave veterans as out-penſioners; who, in that caſe, inſtead of being collected in an hoſpital, far from the tender "charities of father, ſon,

ſon, and brother," might more happily ſpend the evening of life in the cottages of their families. And, were the ſalaries of the officers reduced as the nature and deſign of an hoſpital require, that is to ſay, were the principal officers ſuch as would be contented to live as gentlemen only, and not as perſons of high rank and diſtinction, emulating, as ſome have heretofore done, the firſt quality in the kingdom, luxury would not have dared to ſhew its face in walls conſecrated to charity; nor would there have needed ſo great a part of the ſtructure to be taken up in houſes of officers, ſome of them reſembling palaces more than what they are. Plain and neat, in our opinion, ſhould ever be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of houſes thus devoted; and thoſe who would not have been ſo ſatisfied ſhould not either have ſought or accepted of the offices; much leſs ſhould any of theſe offices have been made ſinecures.

Greenwich hoſpital ſtands on the ſcite of an ancient royal palace. The firſt wing, erected by Charles II. in 1666, was deſigned for the ſame uſe. King William gave this palace for the uſe of diſabled Engliſh ſeamen and their children, and for the widows and children of ſuch as were ſlain at ſea. He alſo appointed commiſſioners for the better carrying on her excellent intentions; and therein deſired the aſſiſtance of his good ſubjects, as the neceſſity of his affairs did not permit him to advance ſo conſiderable a ſum towards this work as he deſired. In conformity to this requeſt, many benefactions were made in that and the ſucceeding reigns to this noble charity, which, according to the tables hung up at the entrance of the hall, amount to 58,209l. The firſt range had coſt Charles II. 36,000l. and another was ordered to be built on the ſame model: this was completed with equal magnificence. The front to the Thames conſiſts of theſe two ranges of ſtone buildings, with the ranger's houſe at the back part in the centre, behind which the park riſes with a noble aſcent. Theſe wings, between which is a large area,

are each terminated by a very noble dome. In each front to the Thames, two ranges of coupled Corinthian columns support their pediments, and the same order is continued in pilasters along the building. The projection of the entablatures gives an agreeable diversity of light and shade. In the centre of each part, between these ranges of Corinthian columns, is the door, of the Doric order, and adorned with above with a tablet and pediment. Within the height of these lofty columns are two series of windows enlightening two floors. The undermost, which are the smallest, have rustic cases crowned with pediments: the upper series, which are large and lofty, are adorned with the orders, and with upright pointed pediments. Over these is an attic story; the entablature of the Corinthian columns and pilasters supports a regular Attic course; the pilaster of this order rising over every column and pilaster of the Corinthian below, between which the windows are regularly disposed; and the top is covered with a balusttrade.

The buildings, which are continued on from these, and face the area, correspond with them, though in a more elegant manner. In the centre of both is a range of columns supporting a pediment, and at each corner a range of Corinthian pilasters. The front is rusticated, and there are two series of windows. The domes at the end, which are 120 feet high, are supported on coupled columns, as are the porticos below; and under one of these is the chapel. The chapel was destroyed, on the 2d of January 1779, by a dreadful fire, which likewise consumed the great dining-hall, and eight wards, containing the lodgings of near 600 people. The whole, however, has been since rebuilt; at an expence of 84,000l. The portal consists of an architrave, frize, and cornice of statuary marble, the jambs of which are twelve feet high, in one piece, and enriched with excellent sculpture. The frieze is the work of Bacon, and consists of the figures of two

angels with feſtoons, ſupporting the ſacred writings. The great folding-doors are of mahogany highly enriched, and the whole compoſition of this portal is not, at this time, to be parallelled in this or perhaps in any other country. Within this entrance is a portico of ſix fluted marble columns fifteen feet high. The capitals and baſes are Ionic, after Greek models. The columns ſupport the organ-gallery, and are crowned with an entablature and baluſtrade enriched with ſuitable ornaments. On the tablet in the front of the gallery is a baſſo relievo, repreſenting the figures of angels ſounding the harp; on the pedeſtals, on each ſide, are ornaments conſiſting of trumpets and other inſtruments of muſic. In this gallery is a very fine organ made by Green. On each ſide of the organ-gallery are four grand columns; their ſhafts of ſcagliola in imitation of Sienna marble, by Richter, and their capitals and vaſes of ſtatuary marble. At the oppoſite end of the chapel are four others of the ſame ſort, which ſupport the arched ceiling and roof. The columns are of the Corinthian order, and, with their pedeſtals, are twenty-eight feet high. On the ſides of the chapel, between the upper and lower range of windows, are the galleries, in which are pews for the officers and their families: thoſe of the governor and lieutenant-governor, which are oppoſite each other, are diſtinguiſhed by ornaments conſiſting of the naval crown, and the other ſuitable inſignia. Underneath theſe galleries, and the cantilivers which ſupport them, are ranges of fluted pilaſters. The cantilivers are decorated with antique foliage; the entablature over the pilaſters with marine ornaments; the intervals between with feſtoons, &c. and the pedeſtals of the baluſtrade in the front of the galleries with tridents and wreaths. The tablets in the middle of each baluſtrade contain the hoſpital's arms, and the frize below is carved with a foliage in the Greek mode. Over the lower range of windows are paintings in chiaro oſcuro, repreſent-

ing ſome of the principal events in the life of our Saviour, which are accompanied with ornaments of candelabra and feſtoons. Above the galleries is a richly-carved ſtone faſcia, on which ſtands a range of pilaſters of the compoſite mode, their ſhafts being of ſcagliola, correſponding with thoſe of the eight great columns, and jointly with them appearing to ſupport the epiſtylum, which ſurrounds the whole chapel. This epiſtylum is enriched with angels, bearing feſtoons of oak-leaves, dolphins, ſhells, and other applicable ornaments. From this riſes the curved ceiling, which is divided into compartments, and enriched with foliage, golochi, &c. in the antique ſtile. The communion-table is a ſemi-oval ſlab of ſtatuary marble, near eight feet long, ſupported by ſix cherubims, ſtanding on a white marble ſtep of the ſame dimenſions. Above is a painting, by Weſt, in a ſuperb carved-and-gilt frame, repreſenting the preſervation of St. Paul from ſhipwreck on the iſland of Melita: the ſea and wrecked ſhip appear in the back ground, and combine to exhibit a ſcene that cannot fail of having a proper effect on the minds of ſea-faring men, and of impreſſing them with a due ſenſe of their paſt preſervation, and their preſent comfortable ſituation and ſupport in this glorious aſylum for naval misfortunes and naval worth. The middle of the aiſle, and the ſpace round the organ-gallery, are paved with black and white marble, in golochi, frets, and other ornaments; having in the centre an anchor and ſeaman's compaſs. The pulpit is on a circular plan, ſupported by ſix fluted columns of lime-tree, with an entablature above richly carved, and of the ſame materials. In the ſix inter-columns are alto-relievos, taken from the Acts of the Apoſtles, executed after deſigns by Weſt. The reader's deſk is formed on a ſquare plan, with columns at the four corners, and the entablature over them ſimilar to thoſe of the pulpit; in the four inter-columns are alſo alto-relievos of the prophets Danial, Micah,

Zechariah, and Malachi, after deſigns by the ſame artiſt. ---Several paintings in chiaro oſcuro, relative to our Saviour, are placed over the lower windows. The apoſtles and evangeliſts in the receſſes between the upper windows, and the four prophets in the circles above the gallery-doors, are after deſigns of Mr. Weſt. On the ſides of the gate which opens to theſe buildings from the park, are placed a large terreſtrial and celeſtial globe, in which the ſtars are gilt; and in the centre of the area is a ſtatue of George II.

The hall of the hoſpital is painted by Sir James Thornhill. In the centre of the cupola is a compaſs, with its proper points duly bearing; in the covering are the four winds in alto-relievo. Over each of the three doors are large oval tables, with the names, in gold letters, of ſuch benefactors as have given 100l. or upwards toward the building; and at each table is a repreſentation, as large as life, of two charity-boys, as if carved in white marble, ſitting on great corbels, pointing up to the figure of Charity, in a niche, intimating that what money is given there is for their ſupport.---For the maintenance of this hoſpital, every ſeamen in the royal navy, and in the ſervice of the merchants, pays 6d. a month. There are at preſent near 2000 old or diſabled ſeamen; and 100 boys, the ſons of ſeamen, are inſtructed in navigation, and bred up to the royal navy: but there are no out-penſioners. Each of the marines has a weekly allowance of ſeven loaves weighing 16 ounces each; three pounds of beef, two of mutton, a pint of peaſe, a pound and a quarter of cheeſe, two ounces of butter, fourteen quarts of beer, and one ſhilling tobacco-money: the tobacco-money of the boatſwains is half-a-crown a week each; that of their mates 1s. 6d. and that of the other officers in proportion to their rank: beſides which, each common penſioner receives, once in two years, a ſuit of blue, a hat, three pair of ſtockings, two pair of ſhoes, three ſhirts, &c.

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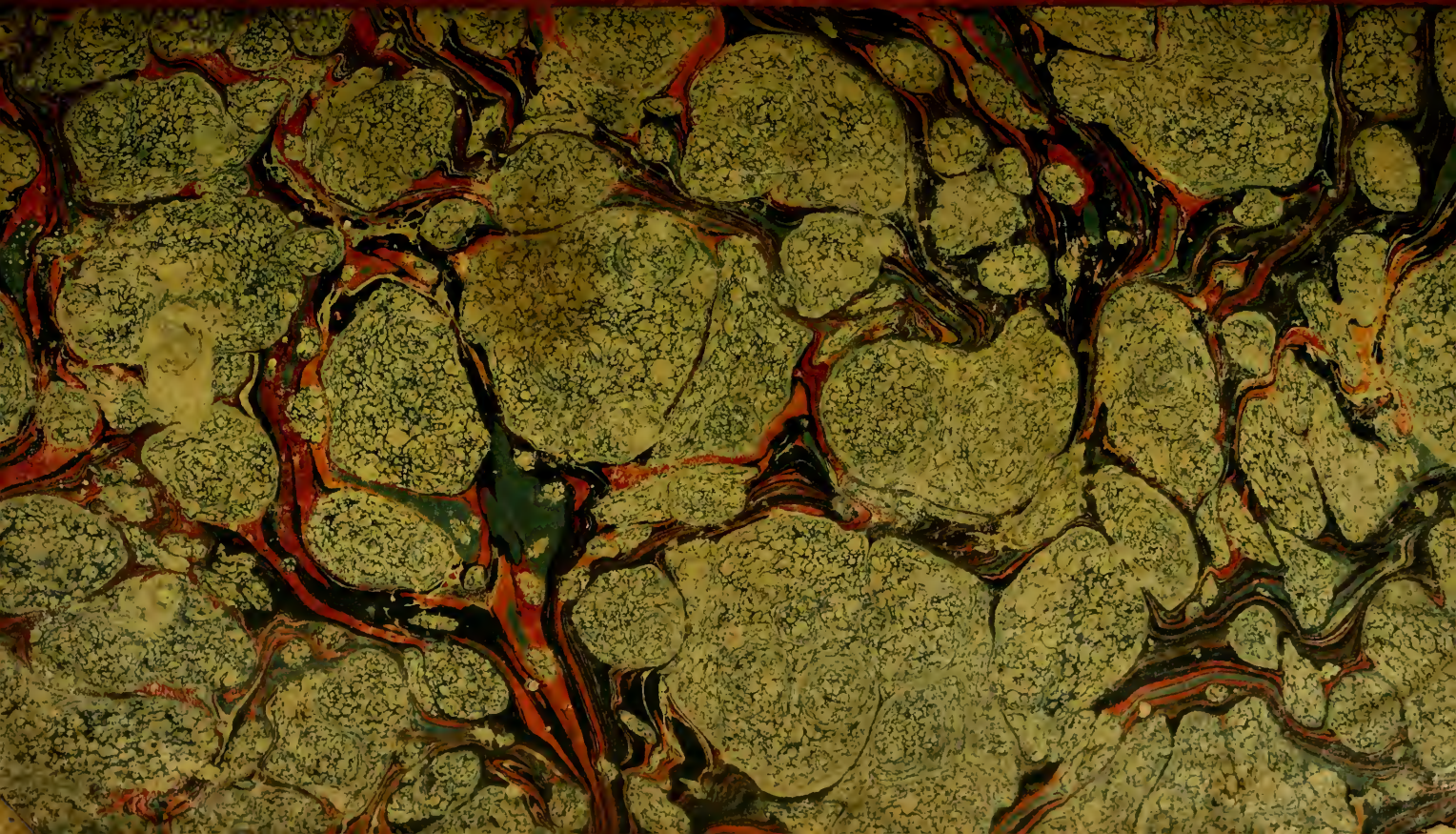
END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.